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WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations—Outrages in Kansas-The different Political Parties-Position of the Republican Party. SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

> On the Evening of Nov. 2, 1865, IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF BOSTON:

Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? This is the question which you are to answer at the coming election. Above all other questions, whether national or local, it now lifts itself, directly in the path of every voter, and calls for a plain and honest reply. There it is. It cannot be avoided. It cannot be banished away. It cannot be silenced. Forever sounding in our cars, it has a mood for every hour-stirring us at times as with the blast of a trumpet—then visiting us in solemn tones, like the bell which calls to prayer and then again awaking us to our unmistakable duty like the same bell, which and then again awaking us to our unmistakable duty like the same bell, which at midnight summons all to stay the raging conflagration.

And yet there are persons among us who seek to put this great question aside. Some clamor for financial reform, and hold up a tax-bill; others

clamor for a modification of the elective franchise, and they hold up the Pope; some speak in the name of old parties, calling themselves Democrats or Whigs; others in the name of a new party, which shall be nameless at present. Surely the people of Massachusetts will not be diverted from the true issue-involving Freedom for broad territories and Freedom for themselves-by holding up a tax-bill or by holding up the Pope. The people of Massachusetts are intelligent and humane. They are not bulls, to be turned aside by shaking in their eyes a bit of red cloth; nor are they whales, to be stopped by a tub. The pertinacious and exclusive advocacy with which, at this crisis of Freedom, humbler matters and even personal aspirations have been pressed, in disregard of a sacred cause, finds a prototype in an effort of selfishness, which, occurring at the very crisis of our Revolution, was chastised by the humor and eloquence of Patrick Henry. The story is familiar. Our small army, contending for Freedom, was reduced to the depths of distress-exposed almost naked to the rigors of a winter sky, and marking the frozen ground with the blood of shoeless feet. "Where is the man," said Patrick Henry, "who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his breast, to receive the meanest soldier in that little famished band? Where is the man? There he stands; but whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom, you are to judge!" It was to John Hook that he pointed, who was then pressing a vexatious claim for supplies taken for the use of these starving troops. "What notes of discord do I hear?" exclaimed the orator. They are the notes of John Hook, hoarsely brawling through the patriot camp-Beef! Beef! Beef!" And now, among us, the selfishness of John Hook is renewed, and politicians disturb the hour, as they hoarsely brawl their petty claims through our patriot camp. But above all these is heard the great question, which will not be postponed, are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? "Under which king, Bezonian, speak or die!" Are you for Freedom, with its priceless blessings, or are you for Slavery, with its countless wrongs and woes? Are you for God, or are you for the Devil?

Fellow-Citizens, I speak plainly; nor can words exhibiting the enormity of Slavery be too plain, whether it be regarded simply in the legislative and judicial decisions by which it is upheld, or in the unquestionable facts by which its character is revealed. It has been my fortune latterly to see Slavery face to face in its own home, in the slave States; and I take this early opportunity to offer my testimony to the open barbarism which it sanctions. I have seen a human being knocked off at auction on the steps of a court-house, and, as the sale went on, compelled to open his mouth and show his teeth, like a horse; I have been detained in a stage-coach, that our driver might, in the phrase of the country, "help lick a nigger;" and I have been constrained, at a public table, to witness the revolting spectacle of a poor slave, yet a child, almost felled to the floor by a blow on the head from a clenched fist. Such incidents were not calculated to shake my original convictions. The distant slaveholder, who, in generous solicitude for that truth which makes for Freedom, feared that, like a certain Doctor of Divinity, I might, under the influence of personal kindness, be hastily swayed from these convictions, may assured that I saw nothing to change them in one tittle, but to confirm them, while I was entirely satisfied that here in Massachusetts, where all read, the true character of Slavory is bottor known than in the slave States where ignorance and prejudice close the avenues of knowledge.

And now, grateful for the attention with which you honor me, I venture to hope that you are assembled honestly to hear the truth; not to gratify prejudice, to appease personal antipathies, or to indulge a morbid appetite for excitement; but with candor and your best discrimination to weigh facts and arguments, in order to determine the course of duty. I address myself particularly to the friends of Freedom-the Republicans-on whose invitation I appear to-night; but I make bold to ask you of other parties, who now listen, to divest yourselves for the time of partisan constraint-to forget for the moment that you are Whigs or Democrats, or how you are called, and to remember only that you are men, with hearts to feel, with heads to understand. and with consciences to guide. Then only will you be in a condition to receive the truth. "If men are not aware of the probable bias of party over them, then they are so much the more likely to be blindly governed by it." This is the wise remark of Wilberforce; and I fear that among us there are too many who are unconsciously governed by such bias. There are men, who, while professing candor, yet show that the bitterness of party has entered into their whole character and lives—as the bitterness of the soil in Sardinia is said to appear even in the honey.

At this election we do not choose a President of the United States, or mem ber of Congress, but a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and other State officers. To a superficial observer, the occasion seems to be rather local than national; it seems to belong to State affairs rather than Federalto Massachusetts rather than to the Union. And yet such are our relations to the Union-such is the solidarity of these confederate States-so are we all knit together as a Plural Unit-that the great question which now disturbs and overshadows the whole country, becomes at once national and local, addressing itself alike to the whole Republic and to each constituent part, Freedom in Kansas, and our own Freedom here at home, are both assailed. They must be defended. There are honorable responsibilities belonging to Massachusetts, as an early and constant vindicator of Freedom, which she cannot renounce. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" The distant emigrant—the whole country—awaits the voice of our beloved Commonwealth in answer to the question, Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? So transcendent, so exclusive, so allabsorbing, is this question at the present juncture, that it is vain to speak of the position of caudidates or other things. To be doubtful on this is to be wrong; and to be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong. Passing strange it is, that here in Massachusetts, in this nineteenth century, we should be constrain ed to put this question. Passing strange, that when it is put, there should be any hesitation to answer it, by voice and vote, in such way as to speak the loudest for Freedom.

A plain recital will show the urgency for this question. At the period of the Declaration of Independence, upwards of half a million colored persons were held as chattels in the United States. These unhappy people were originally stolen from Africa, or were the children of those who had been stolen, and, though distributed throughout the whole country, were to be found chiefly in the Southern States. The Slavery to which they were reduced was simply a continuation of the violence by which they had been originally robbed of their rights, and was of course as indefensible. The fathers of the Republic, leaders of the war of Independence, were struck with the inconsistency of an appeal for their own liberties, while holding in bondage fellowmen, only "guilty of a skin not colored like their own." The same conviction mated the hearts of the people, whether at the North or the South. Out of ample illustrations, I select one which specially reveals this conviction, and possesses a local interest in this community. It is a deed of manumission, made after our struggles had begun, and preserved in the Probate records of the County of Suffolk. Here it is:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, JORATHAN JACKSON, of Newburyport, in the country of Easex, gentlemen, in consideration of the impropriety I feel, and have long felt, in beholding any person in constant bondage, more especially at a time when my country is so tearnly contending for the liberty every man ought to enjoy, and having some time since promised my negro man, Poar, that I would give him his freedom, and in further consideration of five shillings, paid me by said Poar, I do hereby teleste, manumit, and set him free; and I do hereby remise and release unto said Poar, all demands of whatever nature I have against said Poar. "In winness whereof, I have become

" Witness, Mary Coburn. William Noves."

Such was the general spirit. Public opinion found free vent in every chan nel. By the literature of the time, by the voice of the Church, and by the solemn judgment of the College, Slavery was condemned, while all the grandest names of our history were arrayed openly against it. Of these, I might est names of our history were arrayed openly against it. Of these, I might dwell on many; but I am always pleased to mention an illustrious triumvirate, from whose concurring testimony there can be no appeal. There was Washington, who at one time declared that "it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery might be abolished by law," and then at another, that, to this end, "his suffrage should not be wanting." There also was Jefferson, who, by early and precocious efforts for "total emancipation," placed himself foremost among the Abolitionists of the land—perpetually denouncing Slavery—exposing the pernicious influences upon the master as well as the slave—declaring that the love of justice and the love of country pleaded equally for the slave, and that "the abolition of domestic Slavery was the greatest object of desire." There also was the venerable patriot, Benjamin Franklin, who did not hesitate to liken the American master of black slaves to the Algerine corsair with his white slaves, and who, as President of the earliest Abolition Society—the same of which Passmore Williamson is now Secretary—by solemn petition, called upon Congress "to step to the vary verge of the power vested in it to discourage every species of traffic in the per-

sons of our fellow-men." Thus completely, by this triumvirate of Freedom, was Slavery condemned, and the power of the Government invoked against it.

By such men and in such spirit was the National Constitution framed. The emphatic words of the Declaration of Independence, which our country took upon its lips as baptismal vows, when it claimed a place among the nations of the earth, were not forgotten. The preamble to the Constitution renews them, when it declares the object of the people of the United States to be, among other things, "to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Thus, according to undeniable words, the Constitution was ordained, not to establish, secure, or sanction, Slavery—not to promote the special interest of slave-masters, bound together in oligarchical combination—not to make Slavery national in any way, form, or manner, but to "establish justice," which condemns Slavery— "to promote the general welfare," which repudiates every Oligarchy-and "to secure the blessings of Liberty," in whose presence human bondage must cease. Early in the Convention, Gouverneur Morris broke forth in the language of an Abolitionist: "He never would concur in upholding domestic Slavery. It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven." In another mood, and with mild juridical phrase, Mr. Madison, himself a slaveholder "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man."

The discreditable words, Stave and Stavery, were not allowed to find a place in the instrument, while a clause was subsequently added by way of amendment and therefore, according to the rules of interpretation, particularly revealing the sentiments of the founders, which is calculated, like the Declaration o Independence, if practically applied, to carry Freedom everywhere within the sphere of its influence. It was specifically declared that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law"-that is, without due presentment, indictment, or other formal judicial proceedings. Here is an express guard of personal Liberty, and a prohibition of Slavery everywhere within the national jurisdiction.

In this spirit was the National Constitution adopted. In this spirit the National Government was first organized under Washington. And here there is a fact of peculiar significance, well worthy of perpetual memory. At the time this great chief took his first oath to support the Constitution of the United States, the National Ensign nowhere within the National Territory covered a single slave. On the sea, an execrable piracy, the trade in slaves, was still, to the national scandal, tolerated beneath the national flag. In the States, as a sectional institution, beneath the shelter of local laws, Slavery, unhappily, found a home. But in the only Territories at this time belonging to the Nation-the broad region of the Northwest-it had already, by the Ordinance of Freedom, been made impossible, even before the adoption of the Constitution. The District of Columbia, with its Fated Dowry, had not yet been

The original policy of the Republic, begun under the Confederation, and recognised at the initiation of the new Government, is clear and unmistakable Compendiously expressed, it was non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States, and its prohibition in all the national domain. Thus we reconciled all discordant feelings on this subject. Slave-masters were left at home in their respective States, without any intervention from Congress, to hug Slavery until it stung them to contrition, while the great mass opposed to this wrong were properly exempted from any responsibility for it in the national

Most true it is-beyond all question-that our Constitution was framed by the lovers of Human Rights; that it was animated by their divine spirit; that the institution of Slavery was regarded by them with aversion, so that, though covertly alluded to, it was not named in the instrument; that, according to the debates in the Convention, they refused to give it any "sanction," or "to admit into the Constitution the idea of property in man," while they looked forward to the certain day when it would be obliterated from the land. Surely, Fellow-Citizens, they did not contemplate any oligarchical combination, con stituting a mighty Propaganda, such as we now witness, to uphold and extend it; nor can any person put his finger on any clause, phrase, or word, which sanctions any such Propaganda; and, in making this assertion, I challenge criticism and reply.

But the original policy of the Government did not long prevail. The generous sentiments, which filled the early patriots, giving to them historic grandeur, and which stamped upon the Republic, as upon the coin which it circula-The blessings of Freedom being already secured to themselves, the freemen of the land became indifferent to the freedom of others. They ceased to think of the slaves. The slave-masters availed themselves of this indifference, and, though few in number, compared with the non-slave-masters, even in th slave States, they have, under the influence of an imagined self-interest, by the skillful tactics of party, and especially by an unhesitating, persevering union among themselves-swaying by turns both the great political partiessucceeded, through a long succession of years, in obtaining the mastery of th National Government, bending it to their purposes—compelling it to do their will, and imposing upon it a policy offensive to Freedom, and directly oppose to the sentiments of its founders: while on the forehead of the Republic, once beaming with Liberty, they have stamped the image and superscription of SLAVERY.

The actual number of slaveholders in the country was for a long tim unknown, and on this account was naturally exaggerated. It was often represented to be very great. On one occasion, a distinguished Representative from Massachusetts, whose name will ever be cherished for his devotion to Human Rights, the Hon. Horace Mann, was rudely interrupted on the floor of Congress by a member from Alabama, who averred that the number of slaveholders was as many as three millions. At that time there was no official document by which this assumption could be corrected. But at last we have The late census, taken in 1850, shows that the whole number of this pecu-

liar class—embracing men, women, and children, all told, who are so unfortunate as to hold slaves—was only 347,000; and, of this number, the larger tunate as to hold slaves—was only 347,000; and, of this number, the larger part are small slaveholders, leaving only 92,000 persons as the owners of the great mass of slaves, and as the substantial representatives of this class. And yet this small company—sometimes called the Slave Power, or Black Power, better called the Slave Oligarchy—now dominates over the Republic, determines its national policy, disposes of its offices, and sways all to its absolute will. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, it is an Oligarchy, odious beyond precedent; heartless, grasping, tyrannical; careless of humanity, right, or the Constitution; wanting that foundation of justice which is the essential base of every civilized community, stuck together only by confidence in spoliticing and constitution. community; stuck together only by confederacy in spoliation; and constituting in itself a magnum latrocinium; while it degrades the free States to the condition of a slave plantation, under the lash of a vulgar, despised, and revolting

There is nothing in the National Government which the Slave Oligarchy There is nothing in the National Government which the Slave Oligarchy does not appropriate. It entered into and possessed both the old political parties, Whig and Democratic—as witness their servile resolutions at Baltimore—making them one in subserviency, though double in form; and renewing in them the mystery of the Siamese twins, which, though separate in body and different in name, were constrained by an unnatural ligament to a community of exertion. It now holds the keys of every office, from that of Presiden

them the mystery of the Siamese twins, which, though separate in body and different in name, were constrained by an unnatural ligament to a community of exertion. It now holds the keys of every office, from that of President down to the humblest postmaster, compelling all to do its bidding. It organizes the Cabinet. It directs the Army and Navy. It manages every department of public business. It presides over the census. It controls the Smithsonian Institution, founded by the generous charity of a foreigner, to promote the interests of knowledge. It subsidizes the national press, alike in the national capital and in the remotest village of the North. It sits in the chair of the President of the Senate, and also in the chair of the Speaker of the House. It arranges the Committees of both bodies, placing at their head only the servitors of Slavery, and excluding therefrom the friends of Freedom, though entitled to such places by their character and the States they represent; and thus it controls the legislation of the country.

In maintaining its power, the Slave Oligarchy has applied a test for office, very different from that of Jefferson.—"Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" These things are all forgotten now, in the single question, "Is he faithful to Slavery?" With arrogant estracism, it excludes from every national office all who cannot respond to this test. So complete and irrational has this tyrant become, that at this moment, while I now speak, could Washington, or Jefferson, or Franklin, once more descend from their spheres above, to mingle in our affairs and bless us with their wisdom, not one of them, with his recorded unretracted opinions on Slavery, could receive a nomination for the Oresidency from either of the political parties calling themselves national; nor, stranger still, could either of these sainted particots, whose names alone open a perpetual fountain of gratitude in all your natural astonishment, I have often said before in addressing the people, and more t

The Slave Oligarchy, waxing powerful, was able, after a severe struggle, to dictate terms to the National Government in the Missouri Compromise, compelling it to receive that State into the Union with a slaveholding Consti

tution.

The Slave Oligarchy instigated and carried on a most extensive war in Florida, mainly to recover fugitive slaves—thus degrading the army of the United States to be Slave-Hunters.

The Slave Oligarchy wrested from Mexico the Province of Texas, and, triumphing over all opposition, finally secured its admission into the Union, with a Constitution making Slavery perpetual.

The Slave Oligarchy plunged the country in war with Mexico, in order to gain new lands for Slavery.

gain new lands for Slavery.

The Slave Oligarchy, with the meanness as well as the insolence of tyranny, has compelled the National Government to abstain from acknowledging the neighbor Republic of Hayti, where slaves have become freemen, and established

neighbor Republic of Hayti, where slaves have become freemen, and established an independent nation.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to stoop ignobly before the British Queen, to secure compensation for slaves, who, in the exercise of the natural rights of man, had asserted and achieved their freedom on the Atlantic Ocean, and afterwards sought shelter in Bermuda.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to seek to negotiate treaties for the surrender of fugitive slaves—thus making our Republic assert abroad, in foreign lands, property in human flesh.

The Slave Oligarchy has joined in declaring the foreign slave trade piracy, but insists on the coastwise slave trade, under the auspicies of the National Government.

Government.

The Slave Oligarchy for several years rejected the petitions to Congress adverse to Slavery—thus, in order to shield this wrong, practically dealying the

right of petition.

The Slave Oligarchy, in defiance of the privileges secured under the Constitution of the United States, imprisons the free-colored citizens of Massachusetts, and sometimes sells them into bondage.

The Slave Oligarchy insulted and exiled from Charleston and New Orleans

The Slave Oligarchy insulted and exiled from Charleston and New Orleans the honored representatives of Massachusetts, who were sent to those places, with the commission of the Commonwealth, in order to throw the shield of the Constitution over her colored citizens.

The Slave Oligarchy has, by the pen of Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, in formal despatches, made the Republic stand before the nations of the earth as the vindicator of Slavery.

The Slave Oligarchy has put forth the hideous effrontery, that Slavery can

go to all newly-acquired territories, and enjoy the protection of the natio

ag. The Slave Oligarchy has imposed upon the country an act of Congress, for the convery of fugitive slaves, revolting in its requirements, and many times unconstitutional—especially on two grounds: first, as a usurpation by Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States; and, secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury, in a question of Personal Liberty, and a suit at common law.

Such, Fellow-Citizens, are some of the aggressions and usurpations of the Slave Oligarchy! By such steps, the National Government has been perverted from its original purposes, its character changed, and its powers all sur-rendered to Slavery. Surely, no patriot soul can listen to this recital, with-out confessing that our first political duty is, at all hazards and without compromise, to oppose this Oligarchy, to dislodge it from the National Government, and to bring the administration back to that character which it enjoyed when first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionist, and surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature, and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag nowhere within the national territory covered a single slave.

reational rag nowhere within the national territory covered a single slave.

Fellow-Citizens, I have said enough to stir you; but this humiliating tale is not yet finished. An Oligarchy seeking to maintain an outrage like Slavery, and drawing its inspiration from this fountain of wickedness, is naturally base, false, and heedless of justice. It is vain to expect that men, who have screwed themselves to become the propagandists of this enormity, will be restrained by any compromise, compact, bargain, or plighted faith. As the less is contained in the greater, so there is no vileness of dishonesty, no denial of human rights that is not plainly involved in the greater is positive. of human rights, that is not plainly involved in the support of an institu-tion, which begins by changing man created in the image of God into a chat-tel, and sweeps little children away to the auction-block. A power which Heaven never gave, can be maintained only by means which Heaven can never sanction. And this conclusion of reason is confirmed by late experience; and here I approach the special question under which the country now shakes from side to side. The protracted struggle of 1820, known as the Missouri Question, ended with the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding State, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining territory, west of the Mississipp and north of 36° 30'. Here was a solemn act of legislation, called at the time a compromise, a covenant, a compact, first brought forward by the Slave Oligarchy, vindicated by it in debate, finally sanctioned by its votes, also upheld at the time by a slaveholding President, James Monroe, and his Cabinet—of whom a majority were slaveholders, including Mr. Calhoun, himself—and made the condition of the admission of Missouri, without which that State could not have been received into the Union. Suddenly, during the last year—without any notice in the press or the prayer of a single petition—after an acquiescence of thirty-three years, and the irreclaimable poss Slave Oligarchy of its special share in the provisions of this Cor in contemptuous disregard of the out-gushing sontiments of an aroused North, this time-honored Prohibition, in itself a Landmark of Freedom, was overturned, and the vast region, now known as Kansas and Nebraska, was opened to Slavery; and this was done under the disgraceful lead of Northern politicians, and with the undisguised complicity of a Northern President, forgetful of Freedom, forgetful also of his reiterated pledges, that during his administration the repore of the country should receive no shock.

And all this was perpetrated under pretences of popular rights. Freedom was betrayed by a kiss. In defiance of an uninterrupted prescription down to our day—early sustained at the South as well as the North—leaning at once on Jefferson and Washington—sanctioned by all the authoritative names once on Jenerson and washington—sanctioned by all the authoritative names of our history, and beginning with the great Ordinance by which Slavery was prohibited in the Northwest—it was pretended that the people of the United States, who are the proprietors of the national domain, and who, according to the Constitution, may "make all needful rules and regulations" for its government, nevertheless were not its sovereigns—that they had no power to interdict Slavery there; but that this eminent dominion resided in the few settlers, called squatters, whom chance or a desire to better their fortune first hurried into these places. To this precarious handful, sprinkled over immense spaces, it was left, without any constraint from Congress, to decide, whether into these vast unsettled lands, as into the veins of an infant, should whether into these vast unsettled lands, as into the veins of an infant, should be poured the festering poison of Slavery, destined, as time advances, to show itself in cancers and leprous disease, or whether they should be filled with all the glowing life of Freedom. And this great power, transferred from Congress to these few settlers, was hailed by the new-fangled name of Squatter

the race of emigration, the Freedom-loving freemen of these pretences, should be followed by other outrages, perpetrated in defiance of these pretences. In the race of emigration, the Freedom-loving freemen of the North promised to obtain the ascendency, and, in the exercise of the conceded sovereignty of the settlers, to prohibit Slavery. The Slave Oligarchy was aroused to other efforts. Of course, it stuck at nothing. On the day of election, when this vaunted popular sovereignty was first invoked, hirelings from Missouri, having no home in the Territory, entered it in bands of fifties and hundreds, and assuming an electoral franchise to which they had no claim, trampled under foot the Constitution and laws. Violently, ruthlessly, the polls were possessed by these invaders. The same Northern President, who did not shrink from unblushing complicity in the original outrage, now assumed another complicity. Though prompt to lavish the Treasury, the Army and the Navy of the Republic, in hunting a single slave through the streets of Boston, he could see the Constitution and laws which he was sworn to protect, and those popular rights which he had affected to promote, all struck down in Kansas, and then give new scope to these invaders by the removal of the faithful Governor—who had become obnoxious to the Slave Oligarchy because he Governor—who had become obnoxious to the Slave Oligarchy because he would not become their tool—and the substitution of another, who vindicated the dishonest choice by making haste, on his first arrival there, to embrace the partisans of Slavery. The Legislature, which was constituted by the overthrow of the electoral franchise, proceeded to overthrow every safeguard of Freedom. At one swoop, it adopted all the legislation of Missouri, including its Slave Code; by another act it imposed unprecedented conditions upon the exercise of the electoral franchise, and by still another act it denounced the exercise of the electoral franchise, and by still another act it denounced the second state of the electoral franchise. the punishment of death no less than five times against as many different forms of interference with the alleged property in human flesh, while all who only write or speak against Slavery are adjudged to be felons. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, should any person there presume to print or circulate the speech in which now express my abborrence of Slavery, and deny its constitutional existence anywhere within the national jurisdiction, he would become liable under thi act as a felon. And this overthrow of all popular rights is done in the name of Popular Sovereignty. Surely its authors follow well the example of the earliest Squatter Sovereign—none other than Satan—who, stealing into Eden, was there discovered, by the celestial angels, just beginning his work; as

Would you know the secret of this unprecedented endeavor, beginning with the repeal of the Prohibition of Slavery, down to the latest atrocity? The answer is at hand. It is not merely to provide new markets for slaves, or even to guard Slavery in Missouri, but to build another slave State, and thus, by the presence of two additional slaveholding Senators, to give increased preponderance of the Slave Oligarchy in the National Government. As men are murdered for the sake of their money, so is this Territory blasted in peace and prosperity, in order to wrest its political influence to the side of Slavery.

But a single usurpation is not enough to employ the rapacious energies of our Oligarchy. At this moment, while the country is pained by the heartless conspiracy against Freedom in Kansas, we are startled by another effort, which contemplates, not merely the political subjugation of the National Government, but the actual introduction of Slavery into the free States. The vaunt has been made, that slaves will yet be counted in the sacred shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill, and more than one step has been taken towards this effrontery. A person of Virginia has asserted his right to hold slaves in New York on the way to Texas; and this claim is still pending before the highest judicial tribunal of the land. A similar claim has been asserted in Pennsylvania, and thus far been sustained by the Court. A blameless citizen, who, in obedience to his generous impulses, and in harmony with the received law, merely gave notice to a person held as a slave in a free State, that she was in reality free, has been thrust into jail, and now, after the lapse of months, still languishes there, the victim of this pretension; while—that no excess might be wanting in the madness of this tyranny—the great writ of Habeas Corpus, proudly known as the writ of deliverance, has been made the instrument of his imprisonment. Outrage treads upon outrage, and great rights pass away to perish. Alas! the needful tool for such work is too easily Would you know the secret of this unprecedented endeavor, beginning with which I arraign. The Slave Oligarchy does it; the Slave Oligarchy does it all.

To the prostration of this Oligarchy you are bound by a three-fold cord of duty: first, as you would secure Freedom for yourselves; secondly, as you would uphold Freedom in distant Kansas; and, thirdly, as you would preserve the Union in its early strength and integrity. The people of Kansas are many of them from Massachusetts—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; but, as fellow-citizens under the Constitution, they are bound to us by ties which we cannot disown. Nay, more: by the subtle cord which connects this embryo settlement with the Republic, they are made a part of us. The outrage which touches them, touches us. What galls them, galls us. The fetter which binds the slave in Kansas, binds every citizen in Massachusetts. Thus are we prompted to their rescue, not only to save them, but also to save ourselves. The tyranny which now treads them down, has already trampled on us, and only awaits an opportunity to do it again. In its complete overthrow is the only way of safety. Indeed, this must be done before anything else can be done. In vain you seek economy in the Government, improvement of rivers and harbors, or dignity and peace in our foreign relations, while this Power holds the

national purse and the national sword. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the door will be wide open for all generous reforms. Oh! the imagination loses itself in the vain endeavor to picture the good that will be then accomplished. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and Liberty will become the universal law of all the national Territories; Slavery will cease at once in the national capital; the slave trade will no longer skulk along our coasts, beneath the national flag; and the wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Bill will be driven from the statute book. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the National Government will be at length divorced from Slavery, and the national policy will be changed from Slavery to Freedom. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will no longer be the vassal of the South. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will be admitted to its just share in the trusts and honors of the Republic. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and you will possess the master-key with which to unlock the whole house of bondage. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the gates of emancipation will be open at the South.

To this work, Fellow-Citizens, you are now summoned. By your votes you are to declare, not merely your predilection for men, but your devotion to principles. Men are erring and mortal. Principles are steadfast and immortal. Forgetting all other things—especially forgetting men—you are to cast your votes so as best to promote Freedom.

But in the choice of men we are driven to the organization of parties; and here occurs the processes the promote of the parties and the parties and the processes the promote of the parties and the par

But in the choice of men we are driven to the organization of parties; and here occurs the practical question on which hinges our immediate duty, By what political party can our desire be accomplished? There are individuals in all the parties, even the Democratic, who hate Slavery, and say so; but a political party cannot be judged by the private opinions of some of its members. Something else more solid and tangible must appear. The party that we select, to bear the burden and honor of our great controversy, must be adapted to the work. It must be a perfect machine. Wedded to Freedom for better or for worse, and cleaving to it its declarations, and must admit no other question to divert its energies. It must be all in Freedom, and, like Cæsar's wife, it must be above suspicion. But besides this character which it must sustain in Massachusetts, it must be prepared to take its place in close phalanx with the united masses of the North, now organizing through all the free States, junctæque umbone phalanges, for the protection of Freedom, and the overthrow of the Slave Oligarchy.

Bearing these conditions in mind, there are three parties which we may dismiss, one by one, as they pass in review. Men do not gather grapes from But in the choice of men we are driven to the organization of parties; and

miss, one by one, as they pass in review. Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles; nor do they expect patriotism from Benedict Arnold. A party which sustains the tyrannies and perfidies of the Slave Oli-garchy, and is represented by the President through whom has come so much of all our woe, need not occupy our time; and such is the Democratic party. If there be within the sound of my voice a single person, who, professing sympathy with Freedom, still votes with this party, to him I would say: The name of Democrat is a tower of strength; let it not be a bulwark of Slavery; for the sake of a name, do not sacrifice a thing; for the sake of a party, do not

surrender Freedom. surrender Freedom.

According to a familiar rule, handed down from distant antiquity, we are to say nothing but good of the dead. How, then, shall I speak of the late powerful Whig party—by whose giant contests the whole country was once upheaved—but which has now ceased to exist, except as the shadow of a name? Here in Massachusetts, a few, who do not yet know that it is dead, have met together and proffered their old allegiance. They are the Rip Van Winkles of our politics. This respectable character, falling asleep in the mountains, drowsed undisturbed throughout the whole war of the Revolution, and then returning to his native village, ignorant of all that had passed, proposed to drink the health of King George. But our Whigs are less tolerant and urbane than this awakened Dutchman. In petulant and irrational assumptions they are like the unfortunate judge, who, being aroused from his slumbers on the bench by a sudden crash of thunder, exclaimed, "Mr. Crier, stop the noise in Court." The thunder would not be hushed; nor will the voice of Freedom, now reverberating throughout the land. Some there are among these who openly espouse the part of Slavery, while others, by their indiffer these who openly espouse the part of Slavery, while others, by their indifference, place themselves in the same unhappy company. If their position at this moment were of sufficient importance to justify grave remark, they should be exhibited as kindred in spirit and isolation to the Tories of our Revolution, or at least as the Bourbons of Massachusetts—always claiming everything, learning nothing, forgetting nothing, and at last condemned by an aroused people for their disloyalty to Freedom.

That no person who truly loves Freedom may join this company, tempted by its may its major and its happens. I now read the language of redecage

by its name, its nusic, and its banners, I now read the language of welcome and sympathy, addressed to them by a distant journal, the St. Louis Republican, a paper which has sustained the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and the worst outrages which have followed. The article is entitled, "A Bugle Note from the Right Quarter;" and after saying that "the Whig Spirit is up in Massachusetts," proceeds to say:

"When we see Stevenson and Hillard and Walley, and hosts of such men, consultogether for the public good; and Winthrop and Choate and Washburn, and others, delii ately putting upon record their approval of the movement, and their condemnation geographical party, we cannot doubt the regeneration of Massachusetts."

After this commendation of our Whig brethren, the same paper proceeds in its next article to express its sympathy with what it calls "the Pro-Slavery

There is still another party, which claims your votes, but permit me to say, this crisis, with small pretence. I am at a loss to determine the name by hich it may be properly called. It is sometimes known as the Know Nothing party; sometimes as the American party; but it cannot be entitled to these designations—if they be of any value—for it does not claim to belong to the organization which first assumed and still retains them. It is an isolated organization which first assumed and still retains them. It is an isolated combination, peculiar to Massachusetts, which, while professing certain political sentiments, is bound together by the support of one of the candidates for Governor. At this moment, this is its controlling idea. It is therefore a personal party, and I trust that I shall not be considered as departing from that courtesy which is with me a law, if I say that, in the absence of any appropriate name, expressive of principles, it may properly take its designation from the candidate it supports. It is not a party of Whigs, Democrats, Hunkers or,

Free-Soilers; but it is a party of Gardnerites.

Of course, such a party wants the first essential condition of the organizati which we seek. It is a personal party, whose controlling idea is a predilection for a man, and not a principle. Whatever may be the private sentiments of some of its members, clearly it is not a party wedded to Freedom for bette and for worse, and cleaving to it with a grasp never to be unloosed. While and for worse, and cleaving to it with a grasp never to be unloosed. While professing opposition to Slavery, it also arraigns Catholics and foreigners, and allows the question of their privileges to disturb its energies. It is not all in Freedom; nor is it, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Besides, even as a party of Freedom, it is powerless from its isolation; for it stands by itself, and in no way associated with that great phalanx now rallying throughout the orth. In this condition, should it continue to exist, it will, in the coming Presidential contest, from natural affinity lapse back into the American party of the country, which is ranged on the side of Slavery. Of course, as a separate party, it is necessarily short-lived. Cut off from the main body, it nay still show a brief vitality, as the head of a turtle still bites for some days after it is severed from the neck; but it can have no permanent existence Surely this is not the party of Freedom which we seek.

But the incompetency of this party, as the organ of our cause, is enhanced by the uncongenial secrecy in which it had its origin, and yet shrouds itself. For myself, let me say, that on the floor of the Senate I have striven, by vote and speech, in conjunction with my distinguished friend, Mr. Chase, for the limitation of the secret sessions of that body, under shelter of which so much the business of the nation is transacted; and I have there presented, as a fit model for American institutions, the example of that ancient Roman, who bade his architect so to construct his house, that his guests and all that they did might be seen by the world. What I have urged there I now urge here. But the special aims which this party proposes seem to be in harmon with the darkness in which it begins. Even if justifiable on any grounds of

public policy, they should not be associated with our cause; but I am unwilling to allude to them without expressing my frank dissent.

It is proposed to attaint men for their religion, and also for their birth. If this object can prevail, vain are the triumphs of Civil Freedom in its many hard-fought fields; vain is that religious toleration which we all profess. The fires of Smithfield, the tortures of the Inquisition, the proscriptions of non-conformists, may all be revived. It was mainly to escape these outrages, dictated by a dominant religious sect, that our country was early settled, in one place by Quakers, who set at naught all forms; in another by Puritans, one place by Quakers, who set at naught all forms; in another by Puritans, who disowned bishops; in another by Episcopalians, who take their name from bishops; and in yet another by Catholies, who look to the Pope as their Spiritual Father. Slowly among the struggling sects was evolved the great idea of the Equality of all men before the law, without regard to religious belief; nor can any party now organize a proscription merely for religious belief, without calling in question this unquestionable principle.

But Catholics are mostly foreigners, and, on this account, are condemned. Let us see if there be any reason in this; and here indulge me with one word on foreigners.

on foreigners.

With the ancient Greeks a foreigner was a barbarian, and with the ancient Romans he was an *enemy*. In early modern times, the austerity of this judg-ment was relaxed; but, under the influence of feudalism, the different sovereignties, whether provinces or nations, were kept in a condition of isolation, from which they have been gradually passing, until now, when the provinces are merged into nations, and nations are giving signs that they too will yet commingle into one. In our country, another example is already displayed. From all nations, people commingle here. As in ancient Corinth, by the accidental fusion of all metals, accumulated in the sacred temples, a peculiar metal was produced, better than any individual metal, even silver or gold, so perhaps, in the arrangements of Providence, by the fusion of all races here, there may be a better race than any individual race, even Saxon or Celt. Originally settled from England, the Republic has been strengthened and enriched by generous contributions of population from Scotland, Ireland, Ewitzerland, Sweden, France, and Germany; and the cry is still they come. At no time since the discovery of the New World, has the army of emigrants pressed so strongly in this direction. Nearly half a million are annually landed on our shores. The manner in which they shall be received is one of the problems of our national policy. are merged into nations, and nations are giving signs that they too will yet

At no time since the discovery of the New World, has the army of emigrants pressed so strongly in this direction. Nearly half a million are annually landed on our shores. The manner in which they shall be received is one of the problems of our national policy.

All will admit that any influence which they may bring, hostile to our institutions—calculated to substitute priestcraft for religion, and bigotry for Christianity—must be deprecated and opposed. All will admit, too, that there must be some assurance of their purpose to become not merely consumers of the fruits of our soil, but useful, loyal, and permanent members of our community, upholders of the general welfare. With this simple explanation, I am not dispused to place any check upon the welcome to foreigners. There are our broad lands, stretching towards the setting sun; let them come and take them. Ourselves, the children of the Pilgrims of a former generation, let us not turn from the Pilgrims of the present. Let the home, founded by our emigrant fathers, continue open in its many mansions to the emigrants of to-day.

The history of our country, in its humblest as well as its most exalted spheres, testifies to the merits of foreigners. Their strong arms have helped furrow our broad territory with canals, and stretch in every direction the iron rail. They have filled our workshops, navigated our ships, and even tilled our fields. Go where you will, among the hardy sons of toil on land or sea, and there you will find industrious and faithful foreigners bending their muscles to the work. At the bar and in the high places of commerce you will find them. Enter the retreats of learning, and there you will find them too, shedding upon our country the glory of science. Nor can any reflection be cast upon foreigners, claiming hospitality now, which will not glance at once upon the distinguished living and the illustrious dead—upon the Irish Montgomery, who perished for us at the gates of Quebec—upon Pulaski the Pole, who died for us at Savannah—upon De Kalb

It was Christopher Columbus, of Genoa, who disclosed to Spain the New World; it was Magellan, of Portugal, sailing in the service of Spain, who first pressed with adventurous keel through those distant southern straits which now bear his name, and open the way to the vast Pacific sea; and it was Cabot the Venitian, who first conducted English enterprise to this North American continent. As in the triumphs of discovery, so also in other fields have foreigners excelled. The Dutch Grotius, author of the sublime work, "The Laws of Peace and War," an exile from his own country, became the Ambassador of Sweden; and in our own day, the Emperor of Russia has employed in the most exalted diplomatic trusts the Italian Pozzo di Borgo. In the list of monarchs on the throne of England, not one has been more truly English than the Dutch William. In Holland, no ruler has equalled in renown the German William, Prince of Orange. In Russia, the German Catharine II takes a place among the most commanding sovereigns. And who of the Swedish monarchs was a better Swede than Bernadotte the Frenchman; and what Frenchman was ever filled with aspirations for France more than the Italian Napoleon Bonaparte?

was ever filled with aspirations for France more than the Italian Napoleon Bonaparte?

But I pass from these things, which have occupied me too long. A party, which, beginning in secrecy, interferes with religious belief, and founds a discrimination on the accident of birth, is not the party for us.

It was the sentiment of that great apostle of Freedom, Benjamin Franklin, uttered during the trials of the Revolution, that, "Where Liberty is, there is my country." In similar strain, I would say, "Where Liberty is, there is my party." Such an organization is now happily constituted here in Massachusetts, and in all the free States, under the name of the Republican party.

setts, and in all the free States, under the name of the Republicau party.

In assuming our place as a distinct party, we simply give form and direction, in harmony with the usage and genius of popular Governments, to a movement which stirs the whole country, and does not find an adequate and constant organ in either of the other existing parties. The early opposition to Slavery was simply a sentiment, out-rushing from the hearts of the sensitive and humane. In the lapse of time, it became a fixed principle, inspiring large numbers, and showing itself first in an organized endeavor to resist the annexation of slaveholding Texas; next, to prohibit Slavery in newly acquired territories; and now, clarmed by the overthrow of all rights in Kansas, and the domination of the Slave Oligarchy throughout the Republic, it is aroused to a stronger effort and a wider union, inspiring yet larger numbers and firmer domination of the slave originary throughout the republic, it is aroused to stronger effort and a wider union, inspiring yet larger numbers and firmer resolves—even as the fountain, first out-gushing from the weeping sides of its pure mountain home, trickles into the rill, and flows into the river, till at last, swollen with accumulated waters, traversing states, washing the feet of cities, proudly bearing a nation's commerce, it presses onward, forever onward, in

proudly bearing a nation's commerce, it presses onward, forever onward, in irresistible beneficent current, to the open sea.

Parties are the natural expression of a strong public sentiment, which seeks vent. As old controversies subside, the parties by which they have been conducted must yield to others, which represent the actual life of the times. In obedience to this law, political parties in France and England—the only countries ducted must yield to others, which represent the actual life of the times. In obedience to this law, political parties in France and England—the only countries where these are known—have undergone mutations with time. In France, under the royalty of Louis Philippe, the small band of Republicans, feeble at first in numbers, and represented in the Legislature by a few persons only, but strong in principles and purpose, rallied together, and at length prevailed over the old parties, until all were equally subverted by Louis Nepoleon, and their place supplied by the enforced unity of despotism. In England, the most brilliant popular triumph of her history—the repeal of the monopoly of the corn laws—was finally carried by means of a newly-formed but wide-spread political organization, which combined men of all the old parties, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, and put forward the single idea of opposition to the corn laws, as its end and aim. In the spirit of these examples, the friends of Freedom, in well-compacted ranks, now unite to uphold their cherished principles, and by combined efforts, according to the course of parties, to urge them upon the Government and the country.

Our party has its origin in the exigencies of the hour. Vowing ourselves against Slavery wherever it exists, whether enforced by the Russian knout, the Turkish bastinado, or the lash of the Carolina planter, we do not seek to interfere with it at Petersburgh, Constantinople, or Charleston; nor does any such grave duty rest upon us. Our political duties are properly limited by our political responsibilities; and we are in no just sense responsible for the local law or usage by which human bondage in these places is upheld. But wherever we are responsible for the wrong, there our duty begins. The object to which, as a party, we are pledged, is all contained in the acceptance of the issue which the Slave Oligarchy tenders. To its repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and its imperious demand that Kansas shall be surrendered to Slavery we reply, that F

the Missouri Compromise, and its imperious demand that Kansas shall surrendered to Slavery, we reply, that Freedom shall be made the universal law of all the national domain, without compromise, and that hereafter no slave State shall be admitted into the Union. To its tyraunical assumption of supremacy in the National Government, we reply, that the Slave Oligarchy shall be overthrown. Such is the practical purpose of the Republican party. It is to uphold and advance this cause, that we have come together, leaving the bound and advance this cause, that we have come together, reaving the parties to which we have been respectively attached. Now, in the course of human events, it becomes our duty to dissolve the political bands which bound us to the old organizations, and to assume a separate existence. Our Declaration of Independence has been made. Let us, in the spirit of our Fathers, pledge ourselves to sustain it with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. In thus associating and harmonizing from opposite quarters, in order to promote a common cause, we have learned to forget former differences, and to appreciate the motives of each other. We have learned how trivial are the matters on which we may disagree, compared with the Great cors of political antagonism have been changed and dissolved, as in a potent alembic, by the natural, irresistible affinities of Freedom. In our union, we

have ceased to wear the badges of either of the old organizations. We have become a new party, distinct, independent, permanent, under a new name, with Liberty as our watchword, and our flag inscribed, "By this sign conquer."

Our object is reasonable, consistent with the Constitution, and required by just self-defence. And yet it is assailed from opposite quarters and by variance with the constitution. It is even objected, that our movement is actually injurious to the very cause we seek to promote; and this paradoxical accusation, which might naturally show itself among the rank weeds of the South, is cherished here on our free soil, by those who anxiously look for any fig-leaf with which to cover their

which has been instinctively employed on other occasions, until it has ceased to be even plausible. Thus, throughout all time, has every good cause been encountered. Even Wilberforce, when pressing the abolition of the slave trade, was told that those efforts by which his name is now consecrated foreverwas told that those efforts by which his name is now consecrated forevermore, tended to retard the cause he sought to promote, even to the extent of riveting anew the chains of the slave; and, mentioning this great example, I may dismiss the objection to the contempt it deserves.

With more pertinacity it is objected, that ours is a sectional party, and the significant words of Washington are quoted, to warn the country against "geographical" questions. This is a mere bugbear, with which to disturb timid nerves. It is a part of the intolerable usurpation of the Slave Oligarchy, that the sectional institution of Slavery is exalted to be national in its character, so that a National Whig is simply a Slavery Whig, and a National Democrat is simply a Slavery Democrat. According to the true interpretation

acter, so that a National wing is simply a Slavery wing, and a National Democrat is simply a Slavery Democrat. According to the true interpretation of the Constitution, Freedom and not Slavery is national, while Slavery and not Freedom is sectional. Now, if the Republican party proposed any measures calculated to operate exclusively upon any "geographical" section, or if it sought to direct the powers of Congress upon Slavery in the States, then perhaps it might be obnoxious to this charge; but as it simply acts against Slavery under the National jurisdiction, and seeks to dislodge the Slave Oligarchy from their usurped control of the National Government, it is absurd to say that it is sectional. Our aim is in no respect sectional, but in every respect national. It is in no respect against the South, but against the Evil Spirit at the South, which has perverted our national politics. As well might Spirit at the South, which has perverted our national politics. As well might it be said, that Washington and Jefferson and Franklin were sectional, and against the South. To all who are really against sectionalism, I would say, What sectionalism so direful as that of Slavery? To all who profess to be against ism., I would say, What ism so wretched as the ism of Slavery? If you are in earnest, join the national party of Freedom.

Again: it is objected that the Republican party is against the Union, and we

Again: it is objected that the Republican party is against the Union, and we are reminded of the priceless blessings which come from this fountain. Here is another bugbear. With us, the Union is not the object of mere lip-service; but it is cherished in simple sincerity—as the aged Lear was loved by his only faithful daughter, "according to her bond; nor more nor less." Our party does nothing against the Union, but everything for it. It strives to guard those great principles which the Union was established to secure, and thus to keep it every worthy of our love. It seeks to ever how the bleful Oligarchy. keep it ever worthy of our love. It seeks to overthrow that baleful Oligarchy of dishonor. In this patriot work it will persevere, regardless of menace from any quarter. Not that I love the Union less, but Freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that Freedom, at all hazards, shall be preserved. God forbid, that, for the sake of the Union, we should sacrifice the

sacred things for which the Union was made. And yet, again, it is objected that ours is a party of a single idea. This is a phrase, and nothing more. The party may not recognise certain measures of public policy, deemed by some of special importance; but it does what is better, and what other parties fail to do. It acknowledges those beneficent principles, which, like the great central light, vivify all, and without which all is dark and sterile. The moving cause and the animating soul of our party is the idea of Freedom. But this idea is manifold in character and influence. It is the idea of Freedom. But this idea is maintain the character and ence. It is the idea of the Declaration of Independence. It is the great idea of the founders of the Republic. It is the idea which combined our fathers on the heights of Bunker Hill; which carried Washington through a seven years' war; which inspired Lafayette; which touched with coals of fire the lips of Adams, Otis, and Patrick Henry. Ours is an idea which is at least noble and Adams, Otis, and rather helich. Otis is at the distriction of the clevating; it is an idea which draws in its train virtue, goodness, and all the charities of life—all that makes earth a home of improvement and happiness—

Her path, where'er the goddess roves, Glory pursues, and generous shame, The unconquerable mind and Freedom's holy flame.

Thus do all objections disappear, even as the mists of morning before the sun rejoicing like a strong man to run his race. The Republican party stands vindicated in every particular. It only remains that I should press the question with which I began—" Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery?" As it is right to be taught by the enemy, let us derive instruction from the Oligarchy we oppose. The 347,000 slave-masters are always united. Hence their strength. Like arrows in a quiver, they cannot be broken. The friends of Freedom have thus far been divided. They, too, must be united. In the crisis before us, it becomes you all to forget ancient fends, and those names which have been the signal of strife. There is no occasion to remember anything but our duties. When the fire-bell rings at midnight, we do not ask if it be Whigs or Democrats, Protestants or Catholics, natives or foreigners, who join our efforts to extinguish the flames; nor do we ask any such question in selecting our leader, then. Men of all parties, Whigs and Democrats, or however named, let me call upon you to come forward, and join in a common cause. Do not hesitate. When Freedom is in danger, all who are not for her are against her. The penalty of indifference, in such a cause, is akin to the penalty of oppositition; as is well pictured by the great Italian poet, when, among the saddest on the banks of Acheron—rending the air with outcries of torment, shrieks of anger, and smiting of hands—he finds the troop of dreary souls who had been cyphers only in the great conflicts of life: Thus do all objections disappear, even as the mists of morning before the

Mingled with whom, of their disgrace the proof, Are the vile angels, who did not rebel, Nor kept their faith to God, but stood aloof.

Come forth, then, from the old organizations; let us range together. Come Come forth, then, from the old organizations; let us range together. Come forth, all who have stood aloof from parties. Here is an opportunity for action. You who place principles above men, come forward! All who feel in any way the wrong of Slavery, take your stand! Join us, ye lovers of Truth, of Justice, of Humanity! And let me call especially upon the young. You are the natural guardians of Liberty. In your firm resolves and generous souls she will find her surest protection. The young man who is not willing to serve in her cause—to suffer, if need be, for her—gives little promise of those qualities which secure an honorable age.

Fellow-Citizens, we found now a new party. Its corner-stone is Freedom. Its broad, all-sustaining arches are Truth, Justice, and Humanity. Like the ancient Roman Capitol, at once a Temple and a Citadel, it shall be the fit shrine for the genius of American Institutions. the Legislature, to the number of about one

nundred, which was held at the State House

on one of the last days of the session, that all

may judge for themselves how much the friends

of Freedom may have to hope for or to feat

from the action of that party in this State."

Next comes the Cincinnati Convention of

November 21st, representing the Know Noth-

ngs of the North, with the exception of New

York, where, the Order being already nation

alized, no inclined plane is required to let i

not here reprint the report of its doings, oub-

lished in the Era last week. Lieutenant Gov-

ernor Forn, elected by the Republicans of

Ohio, presided, and made a "national

speech. That must be remembered. Ex-Gov.

Nothing from Pennsylvania, made a "nation

al" speech. Let that be remembered. The

beral, Anti-Slavery platform of Mr. Spoone

of the Ohio Know Nothings, was rejected, only

eleven names being recorded in its favor out

of 104. Let that be remembered. As the

Convention had been called by those members

of the Philadelphia Convention who would not

acquiesce in the repeal of the Missouri Com-

omise, and as the call had specified opposi-

ion to this repeal as one reason for assem

bling, the delegates could do no less than adopt

"That the repeal of the Missouri Compro-nise was an infraction of the plighted faith of he nation, and that it should be restored; and, f efforts to that end should fail, Congress should refuse to admit into the Union any

State tolerating Slavery, which shall be form

ed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was excluded by that

Well, this is a mere declaration: will they

tand by it? They do not say so. They sim-

ly recommend to the National Council, to be

neld at Philadelphia, its adoption, in place of

the 12th section. But they do not insist upon it

leclare that it is an ultimatum or intimate that

they or their constituents will refuse to act with

he National Council, should it decline to follow

the recommendation. On the contrary, they

vidently proceed on the assumption that the

National Council is to be and will be recog-

nised; for they adopted another resolution

ecommending that Council " to abolish all but

one degree, and to require the word of honor

instead of the obligation now required by the

Order " To demonstrate the determination of

their constituents in the free States, to main

tain their Order, to refrain from the policy of

fusion with Republicans, and to hold them-

selves in a position where they can act for a

Know Nothing Presidential nomination, they

resolved further-and this was the great work

lescing with any party which demands the postponement or abandonment of American principles, or the disorganization of the Ameri-

Mark, this is the position of the men who

seceded from the Philadelphia Convention, on

account of hostility to the 12th section of the

platform! We recollect with what honor they

were received at home. Even those who op-

posed the Order were loud in their praises o

the integrity and constancy of these seceding

delegates. But how many of them have ful-

filled the expectation their conduct then as

thorized? Henry Wilson can count them of

his fingers. The rest have held their Cincin

We have looked over the whole politics

field, and ascertained the positions and relatio

of the three Parties. We now appeal to the

Anti-Slavery adherents of the Know Nothing

Order. Do you expect that the electoral vote

of a single slave State will be given to a Presi-

dential candidate, not known to be opposed to

the prohibition of Slavery in Federal Territory,

to the restoration of the Anti-Slavery clause of

the Missouri Compromise, and to all agitation

with a view to secure either object? Do you

not know that, on this whole question of Slave

ry, the slaveholding States will be a unit? Do

you not believe that the object they unitedly

oppose, is of paramount importance? Can

be secured, except by a union of the masses of

the free States, acting together for its accom-

plishment? Do you not know that, thus acting,

they could elect a President, openly and hon-

estly committed to the Principle and Policy of

Slavery-Prohibition in all Federal Territory

To effect such a union, is it not plain that

there must be one organization, one set of nomi-

Say, then, what organization shall this be

Your National Know Nothing organization pro

poses to save the Union, to maintain all exist

ng arrangements in regard to Slavery, to pu

lown agitation respecting it, and put in the

Presidential chair, a man pledged to this poli-

act with the National Know Nothings, but to

recommend to them the adoption of the policy

of restoring the Missouri Compromise. Your

organization in New York, and to a great ex tent in Pennsylvania, accepts the Philadelphis

Pro-Slavery platform; and in Connecticut

while assuming Anti-Slavery ground, propose

to act with the Nationals. Suppose you coul

organize a Northern Know Nothing Party or

e Anti-Slavery, Native American basis, you

ould not carry New York and Pennsylvania

against the National Know Nothings and Old

line Democracy, too. But, you know that you

cannot organize an efficient Party on that two

bination of Anti-Slavery and Native American

voters, in one Party; but you know perfectly

well that such a combination can never be effected in Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Pennsylva

nia, New York, and Massachusetts. The rea

Republicans in those States will suffer defeat a hundred times before they will sacrifice their

Principles for a combination embracing a doc trine and policy they believe wrong. No mat

er, then, how Anti-Slavery you make your Or

ler in some States, you cannot hope to absorb

oters who reject your peculiar Know Nothing

give the victory to the Slave Interest, which

midst all Party revolutions and combination

is true forever to itself.

fold basis.

In a few States, you have effected a con-

nations, a common mode of operations?

nati Convention, and behold the "result!

" That this Convention protes

the following declaration:

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1855.

Look out for your bills. They may drop out of your papers unperceived.

ENCOURAGING

Our friends are doing nobly. Many who left us last year, come back this. If every friend of the paper continues to work, the re action will be successful. Now is the time. Send in the clubs, so that new subscribers may hegin with the session.

Congress met last Monday, at twelve o'clock The Administration members of the House concentrated on Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, as their candidate for the Speakership, and gave him 74 votes, out of 225, the whole number cast. The Opposition, as every one foresaw is divided, and there must be many ballotings before it can be sufficiently harmonized to elec-

A majority of the House was returned or the simple Anti-Nebraska issue—but there are members of this majority who propose, in the election of Speaker, to advance other issues—in a word, to strengthen the Know Nothing Order. This is the source of all the difficulty in organizing the House. Were it not for the intervention of this element, an Anti-Slavery Speaker could be chosen without difficulty The telegraphists and letter-writers are sending out all sorts of rumors and speculations-bu the People may as well understand at once, that should the ballotings be protracted for a month longer, it will be owing solely to the cause we have just pointed out.

Meantime, let the Opposition keep cool, and proceed calmly, and without hurry, allowing time for members to become acquainted with each other, and for prejudices to wear away.

TROUBLES IN KANSAS

Reports of the beginning of civil war in Kansas reach us by the telegraph. They seem to have been conveyed first to the Missouri Legislature, where the election for Senator is pending, and then to have been forwarded to Washington. As might have been expected, the blame is laid on the Free State men. The Slavery Propagandists, we all know, are a meek long-forbearing tribe! It is said that Gov. Shannon has applied for help, and that the President has put the military at his disposal. We are inclined to think the rumors are evan gerated, for sinister purposes.

We respectfully commend to the notice of subscribers, and our friends of the Press, the Prospectus of the Notional Era for 1856. Subscriptions should be renewed without delay.

PROSPECTUS Menth Bolume of Abe Antional Era. Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

The signs of the times indicate an approach-Slavery. The Democratic Party and the Whig, with their peculiar issues, have ceased to exist the latter being totally disorganized; the organi zation of the former being appropriated as the machinery of a Party devoted to the Cause of Slavery, while nearly all that was healthful and progressive in both has been absorbed by the Anti-Slavery movement, now organized in the form of a Republican Party. The one great Question before the People is, the Slavery Question; and there are really but two Parties,

the Republican and the Pro-Slavery. Henceforth, these Parties must meet each other face to face. The Congress that shall meet within the next two weeks, must witness their first national struggle. Who shall be Speaker - what Power shall organize the House, constitute its Committees, initiate and determine its action?-will be the first questions to be settled. Next must be considered the affairs of Kansas. A spurious Delegate, chosen by fraudulent votes, at a spurious election ordered by an illegal Legislature, representing the policy and interests of Missour Slaveholders; and a genuine Delegate, chosen by the votes of actual settlers, at an election held in accordance with the principles of selfgovernment, assumed to be embodied in the law organizing the Territory, will demand admission to the floor of Congress. At the same time will arise the question of the admission of Kansas as a State, in conformity to the application of its inhabitants, who, in Convention assembled, have duly formed a State Constitution. Add to this, a bill for the admission of Oregon as a free State-and Congress will have before it a series of practical Questions of vast magnitude, involving the entire issue be tween the Slave Power and its opponents. The struggle will not be confined to that body Already commenced among the People, it will derive new interest from the proceedings in Congress. All those Questions must enter into and decide the canvass for the Presidency now opened. The next twelve months, then, will be a period of surpassing importance. The People must array themselves under the banner of Republicanism, or the banner of Slavery. There can be no neutrality, no evasion, no compromise. There can be no intermediate par-

plied, until every man and woman, who can The two organizations are intrinsically irrecon read, be furnished with the whole argument for cilable.

it has announced, are still dear to it. Its course has been a straightforward one, without con- lack of common sense or honesty, remains to hall continue true to the principles of Civil and teligious Liberty we have advocated through

Era will labor for its ascendency. the new year. We need hardly say that no Parties, whom their fellow-labor Literary and Family newspaper. We have on hand several new stories, and the promise WASHINGTON, D. C. of one from the pen of Mrs. Southworth, to

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he person making it up to a copy for six nonths; a Club of ten, at \$15, to a copy for one year. When a Club of subscribers has been forwarded, additions may be made to it on the same terms. It is not necessary that the members of a Club should receive their papers the same post office.

A Club may be made up of either new rold subscribers.

Money may be forwarded, at my risk Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit, to G. BAILEY,

Proprietor National Era, Washington, D. (POLITICAL SURVEY-HOW UNION IS TO

We again desire the attention of those Anti Slavery men who still adhere to the Know Nothing Party. Let us reason together. The Michigan Free Democrat, a paper which

we had supposed to be Republican, a week or two since remarked-

"Now that the Know Nothing party has be come so extensively dominant in the country t is a matter of some solicitude whether or no it will be spoiled by its unexpected success. One thing is certain, that a party so large and influential as this, and controlling so much the affairs of Government, will be speedily compelled to avow its policy in the most distinct man-

This is remarkable language for a Republi can journal. It assumes, first, that the Know Nothing Party is pure and sound: secondly that it has not yet avowed its policy! Must we say that this is a pretty fair illustration of the tactics of a large portion of the old Free Soil Press? Speaking of the differences of opinion among the Know Nothings in the several States he same paper says:

either be reconciled, or some one of the measures of antagonistic policy will be taken up, and become of universal acceptance, and the we shall be enabled clearly to see just what th

This is the attitude of patient waiting on the cotsteps of Know Nothingism, maintained by many old Anti-Slavery men. They have been laboring under the strange hallucination that this Secret Order was the chosen instrument of Heaven for the redemption of the nation; while others, not so deplorably misled, still would tamper with it, under the delusion that it can be made ultimately subservient to the Anti-Slavery Cause. The Cleveland Leader, for example, disappointed at the result of the Massachusetts election, "apprehends the great issue of Slavery and Freedom was too little attended to, while the question of Know Nothingism attracted too much notice. That the Know Nothings of Massachusetts are Anti-Slavery in their feelings, will not be denied; that they would Slavery platform, is, we think, equally certain. Know Nothingism, as at first organized, is virtually dead in the North: but there is enough of it still left to be formidable when it is driven into a hostile attitude. We think that the Republicans of Massachusetts erred in this. though their platform, taken as a whole, was infinitely better than any other that was pre-

sented in that State." The Republicans of Massachusetts, intending to be Republicans, and nothing else, went into the election upon the Slavery issue alone, selecting a standard-bearer representing issue alone. They were wise and honest. The Know Nothings of Massachusetts, with all their Anti-Slavery professions, would not take that ground, for the simple reason that they determined to carry the State and administer its Government on Know Nothing principles. If the Leader approve of this policy, then he may blame the Republicans of Massachusetts; if not, he must justify them, and utterly condemn the

The same paper, just before the Cincinnat Know Nothing Convention, could hardly believe that an attempt at reunion with the National Order would prevail. "There are not a few who predict that it will

set up a barrier against a union with the National Republican party, and that it will make overtures of reconciliation to the Southern wing of the Order. Much as we, in this section of the State, may feel disposed to ridicule such an idea, there can be no doubt that at least a portion of the delegates to that Convention will be favorable to it. It is barely possible that a re-Some of us in this region thought differently

and we have not been disappointed by the resolution of the Convention to meet February 19th in Philadelphia, for the purpose of making terms with the National Council that will assemble on the 22d of the same month. The Leader, by way of warning to the Convention, remarked-" If the Northern wing of the Order should prove false to Freedom, no earthly power can save it from destruction!" "If"-"if"_"if"_and this while the ears of its edit- part of the Know Nothing members of the cy. Your seceding Know Kothings propose to ors are ringing with the shouts of Northern and Southern Know Nothings over the defeat of Republicanism in Massachusetts and New

Is there a Republican Party or not? Are ties, although there may be sinister factions its principles and policy right or not? Will working insidiously for the defeat of Republithe Leader, Free Democrat, and other papers canism, and the continuance of power in the that are constantly courting the Know Nothing hands of the Slaveholding oligarchy. He that Party, and hoping so much from it, tell us? If not for Freedom is against it.

The responsibilities of Republicans at such a to do with any other Party, but to oppose it? moment cannot be too urgently impressed upon them. The great Question, to the exclusion that some friends of Freedom used to commit, of all others, should be made the test in Congress, and by the People, on every occasion, at work of the Independent Democratic Party. every election. The work of organization The Know Nothing Order, in seeking to exought to be vigorously prosecuted, till every county and town be fully prepared for the decisive struggle.

Above all, the Press should be put in active claim to the support of true Republicanism, uralization to twenty-one years, forfeits all operation. Local and Metropolitan newspa-there ought to be no jealousy between views men as equal, abhors caste, holds sacred views men as equal, abhors caste, holds sacre the m—are alike needed. Republican papers the rights of conscience, and can respect no should be encouraged, and their issues multi-

To the readers of the National Era we address ourselves specially. It has fought the battles of Freedom for nine years, and is now know that the great body of the Party in those States, and a large portion of its Press, are it will be. The doctrines it has urged, the aims | sound to the core but there are some who are disposed to play fast and loose whether from

about opening—parties must take their true positions, and settle their policies. The Repubun Liberty we have advocated through licans must understand each other, and be one in heart and action. If they would command respect and win success, they must be true to

Humanity without regard to race or birth, the themselves and to their own principles: it will pains will be spared to maintain its position as sing. No Party can live, or deserves to live, the members of which do not maintain good faith to each other. Let us survey the political field.

There will be three distinct nom the Presidential election-Republican, Pro-Slavery Democratic, Know Nothing or "American." Three Parties are already organizedthe Republican, the Pro-Slavery Democracy, and the Know Nothing. The first, represents the Principle of Liberty, the second, that of Slavery, the third, the policy of Caste and

The Slavery-Democracy has an organization in every State of the Union, but is really asendant only in the slave States. It has been the main instrument of the Slave Power. Its one policy is, to yield to its exactions, and to nforce popular acquiescence in them. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, for the purpose of nationalizing Slavery, and it insists upon acquiescence in this repeal. The endorsement of the Fugitive Bill, of the Compromise of 1850, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and of the policy embodied in them and implied by them, will be the test in the National Convention of the Party to be held in Cincinnati next year, and the sole issue tender-

The Republican Party is organized expressly o meet this issue. It refuses its endorsement to the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850; it condemns the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and, striking at the Principle and Policy of all these measures-the extension and nationalization of Slavery-it demands the total prohibition of Slavery in all Federal Territory.

These two Parties, then, confront each other on a single issue-Freedom and Slavery. Will the men who, adhering to the Know Nothing Order, profess devotion to the cause of Free lom, answer this question: Suppose these two Parties, so arrayed, should be left, undisturbed by any other organization, undistracted by any other question, to decide this single, grand is sue, by their votes next November, what would be the decision? Can they hesitate-can they for a moment doubt, that the Right would tri umph, and the Slave Power be overthrown? But, another Party, with other issues, does in tervene, and the result at once becomes doubt ful. Who are responsible for this-who, respon sible for thus interposing in the conflict between the Slave Power and its Opponents, and for giving to the former a new lease of life? The twenty-four thousand Free-Soilers who voted a Know Nothing ticket in Massachusetts, and the thousands of Anti-Slavery men who are still tampering, in other States, with the Know

Nothing Order. Look at the exact position of this Party We leave out of view its secret mummeries, o which it has grown ashamed—its extra-indicia oaths, which it proposes to give up-its anti-Christian policy of proscription, which it still clings to; our concern now is, simply with the position of the Party in its bearings on the lavery Question. It was not organized with view to meet this issue, to dispose of it in any way. What business with it, then, has any Anti-Slavery man, holding this issue to be of paramount importance? It has diverted a large share of public attention from this issue. Does this give it a claim upon their continued support? It has divided the free States on the of the Conventionissue: and yet, they adhere!

narshalling adherents in all the States, from all the Parties, in some States absorbing nearly all the Anti-Slavery voters, it held its Naional Convention, and, to the surprise of these deluded voters, adopted a platform affirming acquiescence in the Compromise of 1850, in the Fugitive Act, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise-in a word, in all existing laws on the subject of Slavery. Some of the Northern nembers seceded, others adhered. The seceders were sustained at home, but what followed? Not a single State Council dishanded-only two or three indeed dissolved their connection with the National Order. The organization was kept up, and the seceding delegates called Convention, to meet at Cincinnati on the 21st November, to see what further should be done Had the Order in the North been loyal to lissolved itself, and its members would have

Freedom, had it verily believed the Slavery Question the paramount issue, it would have united with the only Party, arrayed distinctly against the Slavery Democracy, on the one issue it audaciously tendered. It was not true to Freedom-it subordinated it to other objects. Its managers generally contemplated a reunion with National Know Nothings, on a "National" basis, as it is affectedly styled. In Nev York, the Party planted itself openly on the basis of caste, compromise, and "nationality. In Massachusetts, it arrayed itself against the only Party, organized to meet distinctly, both ocally and nationally, the Slavery issue. No sooner were the results of the election in those States known, than the project of forming a Re publican Party in New Jersey was postponed and in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, the Order resolved to maintai its organization, to insist upon its peculia Know Nothing Principles, accompanying the resolution, however, with such de Anti-Slavery sentiments as were calculated and designed to preclude anything like a successfu attempt at a separate Republican organization Then followed a strong demonstration on the

then, the Order had not undertaken to assume the lead.
On the 16th November, they, and others sympathizing with them, met in the State House at Montpelier, and, after the passage of the usual Anti-Slavery resolutions, laid

Legislature of Vermont, a State in which, until

their platform, as follows: "7. Resolved, That we are determined to us tion of our naturalization laws, aided by such an elevation of public sentiment, as will preserve the true interests of the nation, and will guaranty the three vital principles of a Republican Government—Spiritual Freedom, a free Bible, and free Schools—thereby pro-

oting the great work of Americanizing "8. Resolved. That we invoke the arm egislation to arrest that growing evil, the de-portation, by foreign authorities, of paupers and convicts to our shores; and that as our National Constitution requires the chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equally important that other high official functionaries, and especially our diplomatic representatives abroad, should also possess no foreign principles to his their judgment or to influence

eir official action.

"9. Resolved, That we are not op the emigration of foreigners to our shore from the Old World, who come imbued with the spirit of Republican Fraedom, who seek not to impose upon us the decrees of a foreign ecclesiastical

We cannot come over to you, without stand

very is now, and will be in the coming Presidential election, of greater urgency and importnce than any other. You then can give up our organization, and act with us, on this single issue, without any sacrifice of principle. We institute no censorship over private opi may hasten on the day when our beloved country shall stand forth to the world, a model Re ion. Hold what views you please, concerning Banks, Tariffs, the Public Lands, Naturaliz tion-only do not make them the basis of Par "12. Resolved, That the several Editors ty action- the one Question is, in brief, Prohithis State are respectfully requested to publish the above resolutions." bition of Slavery in all Federal Territory. On this the opponents of Slavery, who can contro The Green Mountain Freeman, which used the electoral college, can be united, and on this be a Free Soil paper, but now evidently alone. Will you then give up all other organiprefers Know Nothingism to Republicanism ations, unite in the one formed for the settle s delighted. "We publish," it says, "the aent of this Question, and thus secure a Re-Anti-Slavery American resolutions of a large publican President, or, by adhering to your inconsistencies of the Tribune. It holds, as all and harmonious meeting of the members of Know Nothing Order, divide the opponents of

> age of the Federal Government Choose, this day, whom ye will serve.

Slavery, and invest the Slave Interest for an-

other four years with all the power and patron-

REPLY TO AN "EXPLANATION." The National Era lays no claim to infallibil ty, or to exemption from criticism. With its temporaries it sustains friendly relations, but pes not expect that its views, or the style in which they are promulgated, shall pass unthe hands of Slaveholders, while Protection is slide easily into the National Order. We need point out what he considers the wrong opinion, o resist what he believes to be the ill-judged policy, of another. Our course is from time to

> are not apt to take offence. A week or two ago, we commented, with some lainness, upon the constant attempts of the New York Tribune to revive at this time the agitation of the Question of Protection, and ipon its pro-Russian policy, desiring to counwe considered mischievous errors in an influential supporter of the Republican movement. We did full justice to the many excellencies of the paper, questioned neither its ability nor nonesty, uttered no word which one gentleman may not speak to another, without violating the rules of good breeding.

It seems, however, that a criticism well mean and courteously uttered, has been badly reeived. The Tribune, in a long editorial, relies to our comments, with ill-nature and arogance. Our failure to recognise the imperonality of the paper as a shield to the individuals editorial contributors, it styles "impertinent." It has "no faith in that wretched tinsel of free trade] which the Era cries up with such solemn credulity and such pitiable arropance for, good gold." It has not the "happy aculty of professing a great devotion to Free dom, and doing the work of Slavery." It is a ree trader, "but not of the school of Calhoun, Jeff. Davis, Pierce, and the National Era.' Our opinion on Protection it prefers to attribute, not to "moral perversity," but to "mental weakness, and a blind adherence to early and ignorant prejudice." "Very dishonest or very lull," is the Era, in its attempts to define the position of the Tribune on the Russian ques ion, but it prefers to consider it "very dull." This is a fair specimen of the style and ten

per of the Tribune's reply. We do not com plain of it. It is so much more civil in its reatment of us than of others who differ from it. that we feel under obligations to it, as for an extraordinary act of courtesy. It is so much better to be called, dull, mer tally weak, impertinent, pitiably arrogant, than

"a liar and a villain," epithets not unknown that we really imagine that distinguished Impersonality has quite a friendly regard for us. Still, we always prefer that our friends should be gentlemen. The most cordial relations are never impaired by courtesy. We may like a rude fellow, in spite of his bad breeding-but all the while we cannot but regret that his mother had not taught him to behave himself.

The Tribune says we are "impertinent pitiably arrogant," &c. Well, it is easy to call names, and just as easy to retort—but Bilingsgate would furnish specimens in that line far beyond our genius, if not that of the Tribune-so we shall not enter into that contestthe Tribune may have the whole field of enithets, without a rival.

As to the immunities claimed by the Tribune on account of its impersonality, we have a few words to say. Should the editor of the London Morning Advertiser have learned that the writer of a certain mischievous article in the London Times was Lord John Russell, and should he conclude that such an allusion to this fact the noble Cato. as might give the public a hint of it, would help to counteract its influence, the Tribune would be very apt to call him a fool if he did not. Suppose, in commending certain articles on sectionalism in the Tribune, anxious to invest them with additional weight in a certain believe that they were written by the distin guished author of a standard History of the United States-would this be deemed "imperpers, not excepting our standard of good breeding, the Tribune, have occasionally, in commenting upon certain articles in the Washington Union, for the sake of giving more point to their comments, ascribed authorship to one or another member of the Cabinet. How very "impertinent!"

Now, we tell our cotemporary that its claim to shield, by its impersonality, twenty individuals comprising its corps of editors, from all allusion, is simply childish; and, as this term is the only personality we have been guilty of, we hope our readers will forgive us. When, in a journal professing to regard the Anti-Slavery movement, represented by the Republica Party, as of paramount importance, we see editorial articles designed to give undue magnitude to other issues, articles which, from certain ear-marks, we know to have been written by one who thinks that the Anti-Slavery move ment, from the beginning up to this time, has been a blunder and a failure, we shall state the fact, and the Tribune may say just what it

pleases.

The Tribune attempts to make the odious to a certain class of its readers, by classing it with "Calhoun, Jeff. Davis, and Franklin Pierce," on the Free Trade Question. Does it not see how easy it is for us to retort, by classing it with the Washington Union, "Jeff. Davis." "Franklin Pierce," and "the Slavebreeders and Slavetraders," as it calls them, on the Russian Question? Such ad captandum appeals to unthinking prejudice, is unworthy any

journal that can argue. The Tribune says the Tariff of 1846 wa "forced upon the country, for the advantage of the slave-breeding and slave-trading interests,' and that the National Era lends its "zealous support" to that great Pro-Slavery measure. commenced, and we have never devoted a single article to its support! "Zealous support," this! We have never, in fact, expressed any opinions about it. We hope the impersonality of the Tribune will not deem it "impertment' We cannot come over to you, without standing upon your platform, adopting your issues, sustaining your policy, in relation to Know Nothingism, for, in your plan of action, you make that a Question equal in importance to that of Slavery.

The can you sak this at our hands? But, if we admonish it to be more careful in its

People pay taxes for the support of a few thousand sugar growers in Louisiana, it deserves

The Tribune says that "the Cause of Free dom has never suffered a more injurious blow than from the Tariff of 1846! Of course, the annexation of Texas, the war against Mexico, the sacrifice of the Wilmot Proviso in 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, the election of Franklin Pierce, the repeal of the Missouri Compror and all the aggressions of the Slave Power, are no worse than the Tariff of 1846! This needs no answer. Error is never more harmless than when so extravagant as to shock common sense

We have not time to notice all the strange

Protectionists of its school hold, that the Slaveholders want a good market to sell their cotton in, and a cheap market to buy their goods in, and therefore they insist upon Free Trade. Well-that is human nature. But, because, for certain reasons of universal application, we also favor Free Trade, therefore we are an ally of "the slave-traders and slave-breeders!" The Tribune, on the other hand, denounces this policy-it scorns to be an ally of these respectable classes-it goes therefore for Protection. Mark, the assumption is, that Free Trade plays into against them. But, what is the argument of this class of political economists at the North? Protect your manufactures, and you ultimately cheapen the price of the manufactured articles. ime criticized, sometimes with severity, but we so that, without a Tariff, in the end, the foreign articles could not enter into competition with them. Besides, the increase of manufacturing industry occasions an increased demand for raw materials. Oh-then the upshot of Protection is to cheapen to the planter his machinery and upon its pro-Russian policy, desiring to coun-teract, so far as we could, the influence of what that he needs for housing, working, and clothing his slaves, while it quickens the demand for his cotton, thereby giving new impetus t Slavery and Slavery Extension! Ave. railing at Free Trade because it makes Cotton, King,

> aggrandize his Kingdom! As to the Pro-Russian sentiment of the Trib une, we must deplore it. It is painful to see a liberal journal denouncing in one column the filibuster usurpation of Walker in Nicaragua, heralding, it says, the absorption of Central America by the United States and Slavery, and advocating in another the absorption of unoffending Turkey by slaveholding and aggressive Russia. There is no consistency or decency in such a course. It is fit that the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer should be an advocate of Russian propagandism, for it says-

> you would substitute Protection, which will only

"Russia with Slavery has become great, pow erful, and contented. Western Europe, with-out Slavery, has rapidly retrograded, and become poor, seditious, and revolutionary. Taunted as we are with our institutions, we like to appeal to the example of Russian progress and Western European decline. No people in Christendom are so happy and contented as the Russians, except the people of our Southern

with which the Tribune is accustomed to speak of England. We are the partisans of no foreign Power, but the true policy of this country is to cultivate peace and friendship with the English People. Such inflammatory tirades as the following, from the Pennsulvanian, are absolutely hateful. "Above all causes of aversion [to England]

aggravated to a feeling of absolute animosity, if not of hatred or revenge, there is that mon Tegro Abolitionism.
"It is even possible that there was a small

catch in the arrangement that the English succeeded in making with the United States, respecting the joint attempt to suppress the slave trade. Perhaps John succeeded in slightly doing Jonathan.
"The time is about to arrive when there may

be an end to English interference generally, and especially to English Abolitionism. As a suitable and altogether proper finish to the present war, England ought to lose India. It s of the deepest interest to the commerce of the United States that she should now quietly disgorge all her Indian conquests. Such a consummation would annihilate Abolitionism. That ebony woman of American politics, whose silly but impudent face blushes not, nor etrays emotion, though spit upon, would then

disappear forever.

"Indignities have been freely offered to the United States by England, and especially in the perpetual interference with the condition of nerican negroes. That is as yet unatoned but the time will arrive. England must lose India. Let this be the conclusion of all our speeches, as Delendo est Carthago was of

It is false that England has interfered in the question of Negro Slavery in this country. She has scrupulously respected our sovereignty, but she has abolished Slavery within her own limits, and for this we honor her. When Russia shall put an end to serfdom, establish constituquarter, we should remark that we have reason tional Government, cease to put her heel on the Peoples of Europe striving for Liberty, give shelter to political exiles, proscribed for their devotion to Freedom, and institute a Free Press, tinent?" We believe that the New York pacome her apologist.

A POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

The subjoined official notices indicate a de termination on the part of the "American Order" to be promptly in the Presidential field with their candidates. We may merely remark, as an item of information to some of our readers, that the Councils of Virginia and North Carolina have intimated decided objections to any nomination at so early a day, preferring to await the action of the Democratic Convention

To the American Order in the United States: In accordance with section three of article thorizing the President to call a special meeting "upon the written request of five delegates representing five State Councils," the provisions of said section having been complied with by the authority of said Constitution, notice is hereby given to the several State Councils, and to the delegates to the National Council, that there will be a special meeting of said Counto be holden in Philadelphia, on Monday, 18th day of February next, for the transact of such business as may be brought before it.
E. B. BARTLETT,

President National Council U. S. N. A.

To the American Order in the United States: NATIONAL AMERICAN COUNCIL,

Executive Office, Covington Ky., November 28, 1855. the National Council, in June, 1855, the following resolution was advent

In consequence of the existence of this resolution, and to give it full effect, I hereby proclaim and make it known that, without delay the Councils of the Order in each Congression State, and that each State

The Rebiel.

ER TO A WHIG NHOHBOR, on the approaching Ge eral Election, By an Old by, Nichols, & Co.

We are indebted to some friend for a copy of pamphlet bearing the foregoing title, under- it at once reminds the reader of the Arabian ood, we believe, to be from the pen of Dr. Nights, only the present volume is divided in Palfrey, and circulated in Massachusetts during stead of nights, into fifty-four days. Besides the late canvass. It is a cogent appeal in be- this species of affectation, there is also the half of Republicanism, and it abounds in home further one of presenting the author partly as thrusts at Straight-out Whiggery. It is to be a narrator in the third person, and partly in regretted that some pamphlet equally powerful the first. The anachronisms he commits show was not issued against Know Nothingism.

A DISCOURSE ON THE LIVE AND CHARACTER OF REV. SAMUEL A fine, discriminative discourse, on a distinguished pioneer in the work of reform in the ness, prominent; and sc on. There is an air Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Jennings, of exaggeration, which borrows intensity from who subsequently assisted in the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. November, 1855. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor

Work, are instructive; "Zaidee" and the "Story of the Campaign," entertaining. The writer of "Paris and the Exhibition" has a very poor opinion of Yankees, and a most exidea of his own countrymen. On the whole, this number will pass. METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. October 1, 1955. J. Mc

Clintock, D. D., Editor. New York: Carlton & Phillips. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, Washington

A peculiarly good number. The topics are apital, for example—German Gymnasium and nglish Public Schools, Niebuhr, Geology of Words, Huc's Travels in China, First Chapter n the History of Methodism, &c.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia: Abraham

The new volume, commencing with January 856, will contain 1,200 pages, together with nusic, steel and wood engravings, &c. The nost distinguished American writers are secured for its columns, and the editor shows much tact and industry in his department. Each number contains also a monthly summary of current events.

BLICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. 1, No. 11. Octo ber, 1855. New York: James M. Lane. Its motto is, "Independent in everything-Open to Free Discussion."

The opening article, on the Democratic Pary, proceeds on the cool assumption that the portant instruction with a manifestation of a Democratic Party really exists, as of yore. Its spirit of kind sympathy for the sufferings of a conversion into a Slavery-propagating party is large part of the human family. It is not deentirely overlooked, and the writer does not signed to take the place of more elaborate diseven pretend to understand the reasons why the cussions of the topics for medical men; but it present Administration has become so unpopu- is such a book as a judicious mother will gladlar! Whittier's poems are very liberally re- ly avail herself of, to gather hints as to the viewed, and the copious quotations given, are about the best things in the Review. Another article is dedicated to an exposition of the American Party.

On the whole, the Review appears to be liberal, but not very strong. Each number contains 144 pages octavo, making a volume of over 500 pages. Price \$5 a year.

THE INVENTOR. New York: Quimby, Haskell, & Co.

A neatly-printed periodical, containing mat er of special interest to all persons concerned in inventions and patents, with illustration &c., at one dollar a year, or ten cents a single APPLETON'S CYCLOPGEDIA OF BIOGRAPHY.

We have received a specimen sheet of a new raphy, Foreign and American, embracing a se ries of original memoirs of the most distinguished persons of all times. Edited by Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL, D., with numerous illns. trations, to be issued from the press of D. Appleton & Co., New York.

From the specimen, we infer that the work will be quite attractive and highly useful. THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. October, 1855. New York

The Westminster has a most interesting pa per on the position of Woman in Barbari and among the Ancients. In another article, Dr. Cummings, the famous preacher, is handled with great severity. The other papers are thus designated: Theism, Marcus Tullius Cice ro, Drunkenness not curable by Legislation, the London Daily Press, Cotemporary Literature.

USEHOLD WORDS. A Weekly Journal. By Charles Few periodicals rival this in point of enter tainment. It contains just the kind of light reading a family wants.

THE GLORIA IN EXCRESS. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have got out what they call a book of new music, instead of a new music book. It has been prepared with great care by W. Williamson, Or ganist and Director of Music at the Bowdoin Square Church, Boston. Many of the most eminent composers have contributed to the original department of the work.

LAND, LABOR, AND GOLD; or, Two Years in Victoria William Howitt. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1865. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Wash-

William Howitt excels as a traveller. With powers, well trained, of close observation, fine perception of the beauties of Nature, a good humor, taking things easily, and thus getting along more easily than many of his countrymen, he writes likewise in an easy, simple style, and places at once before the reader's eye what is passing as he goes and comes. The inaccuracies of language he now and then leaves on his pages are easily pardoned, for the sake of the fresh and buoyant spirit which enlivens his adventures. The present work is It must be valuable to the emigrant to Australia, as it puts him on his guard against the many impositions practiced, and gives him a fair and truthful account of what he may expect in the Land of Labor and Gold. There is a raciness about Mr. Howitt's off-

hand sketches of adventure, which renders the book, too, very interesting to the reader whose quest of knowledge as to that country has no reference to visiting it; and among numerous volumes called forth by the spirit of enterprise in that direction, we know of none to which we could point as more likely to reward the reader who wishes to gather up facts, and acquaint himself with the scenery and mode of living among the various classes who meet in that new continent, than those of Mr. Howitt. His statistics are evidently reliable, and the whole being in form of a journal, gives us a picture to the Governor to restore order. The people of life as it is. There are many humorous inof life as it is. There are many humorous incidents and conversations, such as are nowhere else to be found, except in a country the resort of all descriptions of persons from all climes.

Like the books which come from the press

of Ticknor & Fields, the outward appearance of these volumes accords well with their valuable contents.

ndian Archipelago. By Walter M. Gibson. Illustrad by original sketches. New York: J. O. Riker.

The reading public in probably by
familiar with Captain Gibson's story of real or
fancied wrongs, and his claims, as detailed in
the journals of the day. Having failed to obfrom freedom, Ross protested to And State Council.

E. B. Bartlett,

President National Council U. S. N. A. his due, he has turned his thoughts to another han

method of using the calamities he has suffered. and thrown together a history of his eventfor

We hardly know how to class this work, as fact, or fiction. Probably its place is partly with both. Its plan is an unfortunate one, for that his memory is not always to be trusted: and were we to characterize the book as a phrenological product, we should say self-es. teem, large; combativeness, ditto; locomotive ration, which causes a lurking suspicion that credulity of those who take the story to be & Maury, Washington, D. C. meant as anything but a tale founded perhaps on a slender basis of reality. The best part meant as anything but a tale founded perhaps Black Sea, and on Professor Johnston's Last of the work is the insight given of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, their manners and customs, and mode of life. Still. even for this kind of knowledge, such is the whole cast of the work, we feel it worth noth. ing, compared with the plain and straight-forward, though more staid and less amusing, accounts of Sir Stamford Raffles and other travellers. It would have been better, we think, had the author told his story, and given the incidents that transpired, less ambitiously, in a simple, sprightly, and graphic manner. We are reminded, as we read much of it, of Mayo's works, and others of that class, which have recently come from the press; and had the writer confined himself to writing a work of fiction, or a simple truthful narration, his success, we are confident, would have been greater. As it is, he seems trammelled with a leaning now to one and now to the other, so that he cannot do himself justice either way.

WOMAN AND HER DISEASES, from the Cradle to the Grave Adapted exclusively to her instruction in the physiology of her system, and all the diseases of her critical periods. By Edward H. Dixon, M. D., Editor of the Scalpel, &c. Tenth Edition. New York: A. Ranney.

The author of this volume, well known in the medical world, has treated a subject embarrassed with many difficulties for popular instruction, delicately, and been enabled, by the course he has adopted, to combine much imphysical training of her children, and the prevention of evils by which disease and suffering are introduced. The remarks on dress, diet, and exercise, are valuable, and deserve to be well

Juno CLIFFORD; a Tale, by a Lady, New York: Appleton & Co. One volume, pp. 408. Sold by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

This book is beautifully got up, in a style worthy of the purest and best inspirations of genius. And having said this, we have said all we can say in commendation of the book. The story of Juno Clifford is a story of the love of a married wife for an adopted son of her husband; and we wonder such a tale should have found such publishers.

BEECHCROFT. By the Author of "The Heir of Redcliffe." &c. New York : Appleton & Co. One Vol. pp. 303 have a new volume from Miss Yonge, in which the moral, and the illustrations of the are all such as we can commend and an-

This work may be drawn from real life, as the author says it is in his preface, and "destitute of all coloring, other than that which is a rounding up, as it were, of rough edges." But it is a sort of life, and among a class of society, no one would wish to see in their own ouses; and we think such scenes and such life had better be left in the dark places, to which, by the laws of good society, it is now

LIGHT AND DARKNESS: OF the Shedow of Pate Name

This is a story of fashionable life, which opens in the lovely City of Elms, but is soon ransferred to the City of New York. The aim of the author is to show how errors, which seem venial, may, by indulgence, grow into crime. The style is ornate, and overburdened with epithets, of which we have here a sample, not perhaps the richest, nor the best, in the

following, from a scene in Trinity Church: "Eva had often heard Judge Woodward express his admiration of a pretty hand. She saw the fair hand of Florence, whose delicate beauty, and soft, creamy whiteness, seemed to woo the beholder to touch its velvety softness— she saw that little hand, upon which glittered nuettishly on the crimson velvet cushion, which enhanced its whiteness, and saw the eyes of Judge Woodward riveted admiringly upon it. What wonder that the scene swam before her and a painful, sickening sensation thrilled through her whole frame."

SPAIN AND THE EUROPEAN ALLIES .- A COT respondent of the London News, writing from Paris under date of the 14th of November, professes to transmit the exact sense, and nearly the very words, of a declaration recently made by General Espartero to a gentleman who had asked him whether there was any truth in the rumors of a projected alliance between Spain and France ard England. The answer of Gen. Espartero, thus communicated, is as follows:

"There is not at present any alliance. But Spain is a Latin nation; and if the war goes on, she will certainly take part in it ultimately on the side of France and England. I incline to think that the war will become general in the spring. Should events compel Spain to draw the sword in this quarrel, you may be assured that the manner of her doing so will be such as

will not accept a ship, a man, or a crown piece, from any Power in the world." REPORTED EXCITEMENT IN KANSAS. - St. Louis, Nov. 30 .- We have accounts from Independence to day, stating that the armed Free State men had attempted to drive Mr. Coleassailants, when a mob gathered together, drove him and other settlers off, and then burnt down their houses. The ringleader in this was arrest-ed by Marshal Jones, and taken to Lecompton. Governor Shannon has called out the militia.

Many citizens from Independence, Weston, and St. Josephs, have gone to offer their services.

to sustain the old Castilian glory, and that she

Douglas county, and several families driven to Missouri for refuge.

The law and order people of the Territory

are rallying in large numbers, to assist the sheriff in the execution of the laws.

Sixteen houses were burnt at Hickory Point, and several of the citizens were missing.

Dec. 4.—A letter has been received from Anti-gua, which states that the brig Loango, of Philadelphia, was boarded in the harbor of St.

Monday The First Sessie cress commenced Constitution of the The Senate havi the oath prescribe the new Senators: Mr. Crittenden the Hon. Lyman were read. Mr. Cass desired the election of Mr. the Senate and I Illinois, which he as soon as the Sen move its reference Judiciary or a sele [The protest wa to be signed by th

NO. 46

THIRTY-FO

Fir

nine members of the Mr. Trumbull, he Mr. Jones, of Iou of the Hon. Jam Mr. Jones advert had been laid on the Senate of Iowa, in Mr. Harlan; but, should have the be mmed there would the credentials or together for decision Mr. Mason asked test, as there were whom the subject w The protest was
Mr. Mason consi
the reading, in ord
understood. He has
on the subject, and

Mr. Harlan, havin A resolution was
House that the Sens
to proceed to busindaily hour of meeting And the Senate HOUSE OF At 12 o'clock M ll was called, whe five Representatives atives who were abs

Messrs. Childs of ginia, Seward of Ge of Mississippi, Davi son of Ohio, Miller who were absent: Messrs. Gallegos Vote for Speaker. the election of a Sp body during the pre The question be agreed to; and M Dowdell of Alabama vania, and Mr. Wasi pointed tellers to co Mr. Jones, of Ten didate for Speak

Mr. Whitney of Humphrey Marshal Mr. Knight, of Henry M. Fuller, of

Mr. Leiter, Ohio, bell, of Ohio. Mr. Bishop, of No ander C. M. Pennin Mr. De Witt, of Nathaniel P. Banks The roll was then was 225; necessary Mr. Richardson, o Mr. Campbell, of Mr. H. Marshall, Mr. Banks, of Ma Mr. Fuller, of Pe Pennington, Harlan, of O . Thurston, of Washburn, of Mace, of Indi Bennett, of N Williams, of Haven, of Ne

. Galloway, of Nichols, of O Mr. Sage, of New Mr. Jones, of Ten The following is t For Mr. Richards arclay Barkadale Caruthers, Caskie, (Cobb of Alabama, Dowdell, Edmundso Faulkner, Florence,

vania, Keitt, Kelly, Queen, Miller of Ind fin, Rust, Sandidge Tennessee, Smith of art, Talbott, Taylor Wells, Winslow, and For Mr. Campbe bour, Bennett of Ne Brenton, Clark of (loway, Gilbert, Gra Horton of New York Hughston, Kelsey, K son, McCarty, Miler gan, Morrill, Murray Pennington, Pettit, man, Simmons, Star Washburne of Illinois son, Welch, Woodru For Mr. Marsha Kentucky, Carlile, Cullen, Davis of M. Foster, Harris of Ma

Paine, Porter, Purye Rivers, Smith of Ale rwood, Valk, Wall For Mr. Banks .lingame, Chaffee, C Davis of Massachuse Perry, Pike, Sage, T ton, and Wood. For Mr. Fuller.— Campbell of Pennsyl Knight, Kunkell, Mil Richey, Roberts, Ro For Mr. Penningto

Lake, Lindley, A. 1

on, Fuller of Pen han, and Wak For Mr. Wheeler .-New York, and Thur For Mr. Thurston. For Mr. Howard. For Mr. Washbur

Ingler.
For Mr. Mace.—M.
For Mr. Bennett.—
For Mr. Williams.
For Mr. Lake.—M.
For Mr. Haven.—
For Mr. Gallovay.
For Mr. Nichols.—
For Mr. Miller.—
For Mr. Sage.—M.
For Mr. Jones.—M.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS. First Session.

Monday, December 5, 1855.

SENATE.

The First Session of the Thirty-fourth Congress commenced this day, conformably to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate having assembled at 12 o'clock, the oath prescribed by law was administered to the new Senators:

Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of the Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; which were read.

Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of the Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; which were read.

Mr. Cass desired to submit a protest against the election of Mr. Trumbull, from members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Illinois, which he wished laid on the table, and as soon as the Senate was organized he should move its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary or a select committee.

[The protest was not read, but is understood to be signed by thirteen Senators and twentynine members of the House.]

Mr. Trumbull, having taken the oath of office, took his seat.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presented the credentials of Wisconsin; Yulee, of New Hampshire; Durkee, of Wisconsin; Yulee, of Florida; and Pearce, of Maryland, new members, were duly sworn in. The Senate then proceeded to elect a Chaplain, by ballot, with the following result:

Whole number of votes given, 45; necessary to a choice, 23.

Robert C. Dean received 23; W. Hodges, 3; J. G. Butler, 10; Henry Ward Beecher, 2; T. Parker, 1; David (Paul) Brown, 2; B. H. Chaplin, 1; Leonidas Rosser, 1; Wm. H. Holcomb, 1; Archbishop Hughes, 1.

The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The Clerk of the last Health and judicies and judicies and judicies and judicies and judicies and judicies.

Mr. Jones adverted to the fact that a protest had been laid on the table last session, from the Senate of Iowa, in relation to the election of Mr. Harlan; but, as he desired that the State should have the benefit of his service, he presumed there would be no objection to his being sworn in; and when the committees were formed, the credentials or protest could be submitted together for decision.

Mr. Mason asked for the reading of the pro-

Mr. Mason asked for the reading of the protest, as there were several new Senators, to whom the subject was not familiar.

The protest was read.

Mr. Mason considered it a duty to call for the reading, in order that the subject might be understood. He had formed no definite opinion on the subject, and would therefore make no motion.

Mr. Harlan, having taken the oath prescribed

Whole number of votes cast, 220. Necessary for a choice, 111.

Mr. Richardson received 74; L. D. Campbell, 58; Banks, 23; H. M. Fuller, 20; H. Marshall, 19; Pennington, 8; Wheeler, 1; Walker, 2; Nichols, 1; Haven 2; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Lindley, 1; Williams, 1; Thurston, 1; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1.

No choice being made, the House proceeded to the sixth ballot, with the following result, viz:

ayo's

by law, took his seat.

A resolution was agreed to, informing the House that the Senate was organized, and ready to proceed to business; and also one fixing the hour of meeting at 12 meridian. And the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. At 12 o'clock M. the House was called to order by John W. Forney, Esq., Clerk. The roll was called, when two hundred and twenty-five Representatives and five Delegates answered

their names.
The following are the names of the Representatives who were absent:

Messrs. Childs of New York, Powell of Virginia, Seward of Georgia, Wright and Bennett of Mississippi, Davidson of Louisiana, Harri-son of Ohio, Miller of Missouri, and Trumbull

Illinois.

The following are the names of the Delegates who were absent:
Messrs. Gallegos of New Mexico, and Chap

Messrs. Gallegos of New Mexico, and Chapman of Nebraska.

Vote for Speaker.—Mr. Jones, of Tennessee.

I move that we do now proceed, viva voce, to the election of a Speaker to preside over this body during the present Congress.

The question being put, the motion was agreed to; and Mr. Benson of Maine, Mr. Dowdell of Alabama, Mr. Hickman of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Washburne of Illinois, were appointed tellers to conduct the election.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee. I present the name Mr. Jones, of Tennessee. I present the name of William A. Richardson, a Representative from the State of Illinois, as the Democratic

H. Marshall, of Kentucky Banks, of Massachusetts Fuller, of Pennsylvania

Pennington, of New Jersey Harlan, of Ohio Wheeler, of New York Wheeler, of New 1 ork -Thurston, of Rhode Island Howard, of Michigan -Washburn, of Maine -Mace, of Indiana -Bennett, of New York -Mr. Williams, of New York Mr. Lake, of Mississippi Mr. Haven, of New York Mr. Galloway, of Ohio -Mr. Nichols, of Ohio -Mr. Miller, of New York Sage, of New York

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee

The following is the vote in detail: For Mr. Richardson—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bayly, Bell, Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Cadwalader, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Alabama, Craige, Crawford, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Evans, Fankner, Florence, Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Lowa, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illingia, Markert, Hickman, Honston Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Herbert, Hickman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsylvania, Keitt, Kelly, Kidwell, Letcher, Lumpkin, Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullen, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Quitman, Buffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Stephens, Stewart, Talbott, Taylor, Vail, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Winslow, and Wright of Tennessee.

For Mr. Campbell.—Messrs. Albright, Barbour, Bennett of New York, Benson, Bingham, Brenton, Clark of Connecticut, Colfax, Cumback, Day, Dean, Dickson, Dunn, Durfee, Galloway, Gilbert, Granger, Harlan, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Leiter, Mace, Matte-

Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Leiter, Mace, Matte-son, McCarty, Miller of New York, Moore, Mor-gan, Morrill, Murray, Norton, Parker, Pelton, Pennington, Pettit, Sabin, Sapp, Scott, Sher-man, Simmons, Stanton, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Wat-

Kentucky, Carlile, Clark of New York, Cox, Cullen, Davis of Maryland, Etheridge, Eustis, Foster, Harris of Maryland, Hoffman, Kennett, Lake, Lindley, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, Paine, Porter, Puryear, Reed, Ready, Ricand, Rivers, Smith of Alabama, Swope, Trippe, Underwood, Valk, Walker, Whitney, and Zollicoffer

of the House be 12 o'clock M.; which motion was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Keitt then renewed the motion to adjourn,
and it was agreed to—ayes 119, noes not counted.

And at half past two o'clock the House ad-

Mr. Jones of Iowa, presented the credentials of the Hon. James Harlan, of Iowa; which were read.

Mr. Jones adverted to the fact that a protest from the

in session.

Mr Morgan objected.

The Clerk put the affirmative of the question, and announced the motion carried.

On motion of Mr. Bocock, they next proceeded to the fifth ballot for a Speaker, with the following result.

lowing result:
Whole number of votes cast, 220. Necessary

Whole number of votes cast, 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 75; Campbell, 57; Pennington, 9; Banks, 25; Fuller, 22; Marshall, 18; Walker, 1; Nichols, 1; Haven, 2; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Lake, 4; Thurston, 2; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1; Carlile, 1; and one or two others received scattering reters.

tering votes.

No choice having been effected, they proceeded to a seventh ballot, with the following

result:
Whole number of votes cast 223; necessar Whole number of votes cast 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 74; Campbell, 54; Pennington, 10; Banks, 28; Fuller 20; Marshall, 20; Wheeler, 1; Walker 1; Haven, 1; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Wash-burn, of Maine, 1; Zollicoffer, 2; Thurston, 2; Etheridge, 1; Carlile, 2. No choice having been effected, the House

FROM ST. LOUIS.

ST. Louis, Nov. 26, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

The universal cry in St. Louis is hard times The universal cry in St. Louis is hard times, and this seems strange, when it is well known that the vast extent of country, of which St. Louis is the metropolis, is at this time in the most flourishing condition ever known, every town and city in the neighboring States making rapid strides to wealth, unimproved lands in Illinois selling readily at ten dollars an acre, while thousands of acres in Missouri, equally as good, fail to attract the settler at the low rate of a bit an acre.

now in that city of more than ten thousand in-habitants? Why, not enough Nebraska Demo-crats to fill the offices in the gift of the Admincrats to fill the offices in the gift of the Administration, making it necessary to import their own creatures for that purpose.

The Alton Courier is edited and published by George Brown, Esq., a young man of rare endowments, and who will yet make his mark in Illinois. This excellent paper has done a good work, and will no doubt continue to labor faithfully in the Free Soil cause. We believe that outside of Chicago it has the largest circulation

fully in the Free Soil cause. We believe that outside of Chicago it has the largest circulation and is the most extensively read of any paper in the State; but Alton is not the only place where the people are shaking off the shackles that have bound them. Here in St. Louis, we affirm that men can as boldly declare their sentiments as in any city in the Union, none daring to melet them. timents as in any city in the Union, none daring to molest them.

We are more than pleased at your course in exposing the evils of Know Nothingism. By all means, labor to separate liberal principles from such narrow-minded selfishness. They have not one redeeming quality; and should they meet with much success, ruin and evil can alone follow in their path. St. Louis is already suffering from the consequences of their but par-

alone follow in their path. St. Louis is already suffering from the consequences of their but partial success, as a writer in the Democrat proves.

The New York Tribune has many readers here, but I lament its taking sides with Russia. How can it possibly strengthen the hands of the Slave Oligarchy in this country? Its hatred of the Free Trade policy of England is the secret cause of its present course. Your exposure of its inconsistency is well timed. May it be continued against all that tends to wrong or oppression. Yours, truly, St. Louis.

Толево, Онго, Nov. 24, 1855.

vilect foes, especially when it is calculated to do no good, but greatly injure the cause of Freedom and its advocates and defenders. Truly, yours, J. M. A.

NEW HAVEN, Dec. 1, 1855. To the Editor of the National Era:

We obtained a glorious victory for Freedom and the Maine Law in our town election last Tuesday. The direct issue was Freedom, Maine Law, and opposition to the present Administration. Our majority is 400, and it would have been 600 or more if all those who are with us

been 600 or more if all those who are with us had done their duty, more especially those of the 5th ward. We trust, however, that the corrupt Administration party has received its death wound in this town. Such, without the shadow of a doubt, is the fact, if the friends of good law and order are only united.

Hartford, I believe, has raised five thousand dollars for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and I trust we shall do as well here.

A very great majority of our best citizens are deeply interested in Freedom for Kansas. We have had of late several very interesting meetings on the subject, which were addressed by ings on the subject, which were addressed by Hon. Mr. Thayer of Worcester, Mr. Wilcox of Kansas, and other gentlemen. Yours, &c.

STOCKBRIDGE, Nov. 24, 1855. to the Editor of the National Era:

You will perceive that in those counties in this State where the greatest amount of Anti-Slavery labor has been performed, and the Era has had the greatest circulation, the Republicans have carried the State, to wit: Madison, Oneida, Jefferson, St. Lawrence, and Onondaga, &c., which should be a stimulus and encouragement to an energetic perseverance on the part of Anti-Slavery pioneers. In our little town of Stockbridge, which used to be two-thirds Democratic, we had a majority of Republicans of thirty-eight, over all the three other parties put together. I tell you I felt richly paid for sixeen years' service in the good cause. Respectfully, your friend and fellow-laborer

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

DAVID WOOD.

Our valuable correspondent in Kansas, re citing the facts in the late affray resulting in the death of Collins, shows that there is no cause for alarm to peaceful settlers.-Ed. Era. LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS, November 16, 1855.

from the State of Illinois, as the Democratic candidate for Speaker of this House.

Mr. Whitney, of New York, nominated Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky.

Mr. Knight, of Pennsylvania, nominated Henry M. Fuller, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Leiter, Ohio, nominated Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio.

Mr. Bishop, of New Jersey, nominated Alexander C. M. Pennington, of New Jersey.

Mr. De Witt, of Massachusetts, nominated Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, nominated that the whole number of votes given that the whole number of votes given was 225; necessary to a choice, 113; and that—Mr. Richardson, of Ill., had received 74 votes.

Mr. Edwardson, of Mentucky - 30

fail to attract the settler at the low rate of a bit an acre.

Leavenworth City, Kansas, November 16, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

On the 30th ult., Mr. Collins, a prominent and highly respectable Free State citizen of Doniphan, was murdered. It occurred in this way: Pat. Laughlin, who was a member of boniphan, was murdered. It occurred in this great evil, that has grown to such magnitude in our country. Look at the change in Alton, Ill., where eighteen years ago Lovejoy was killed, in attempting to establish, for the third time, a Religious Anti-Slavery Press. But what do we find now in that city of more than ten thousand in now in that city of more than ten thousand in all and the tentre of a bit an acre.

Leavenworth Citry, Kansas, November 16, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

On the 30th ult., Mr. Collins, a prominent and highly respectable Free State citizen of Doniphan, was murdered. It occurred in this way: Pat. Laughlin, who was a member of the Free State Convention of September, has a first touches; and yet how astonishing, when this is so well known, that the infatuated citizen of the slave State is ready to unite with the unprincipled politician, and "cry aloud" for the National Era:

To the Editor of the National Era:

To the Editor of the South and highly respectable Free State citizen of Doniphan, was murdered. It occurred in this demanded afterward that he should retract that slander by ten o'clock the next day. At the time appointed he called upon Laughlin, gun in hand, to require the retraction. He and his friends had armed themselves. One of them, named Foreman, probably thinking Collins would shoot, struck down his gun, and by the jar it went off, without injury to any one. Upon this, a man named Lyr'h discharged a rifle, loaded with ball and buck shot, into the side of Collins. As he staggered, mortally wounded, he knocked down Lynch, and, drawing a knife, stabbed Laughlin. Collins died immediately. Neither of the others was dangerously wounded. Lynch has absconded, and Laughlin has gone to St. Joseph's, Missouri.

It is evident that Collins was a brave and honest man; but he did not justly weigh the considerations, which would have dictated great-

considerations, which would have dictated greater caution. I dislike to mention such facts er caution. I distike to mention such facts, because they give countenance to the exaggerations which have been spread abroad in regard to the perils that attend a residence in Kansas. Along the Missouri border one needs considerable prudence; but in most parts of the Territory people can dwell as securely as alsowhere.

elsewhere.
The Constitutional Convention has adjourned

elsewhere.

The Constitutional Convention has adjourned. It-has framed a Constitution, to be submitted to the people on the 15th of December. January 15th is the day appointed for the election of State officers and the members of the first Legislature of Kansas. The Legislature is to meet at Topeka on the 4th of March, 1856.

The Constitution contains no Black Law clause. It prohibits the introduction of slaves after its adoption by the people, but allows the slaves now here to be retained till July 4, 1857.

The Law and Order Convention, composed in part of the men who tarred and feathered Phillips, has just been held in this place. Governor Shannon presided, and Dr. Stringfellow was Secretary. The Governor is a very pleasant, courteous man in social intercourse. But I am constrained to say that he made a weak and uncandid stump speech against the Free State movement. No word of censure did he utter against the Missouri forays, but freely poured out his indignation on the Free State men, for their alleged disorganizing and revolutionary movements. He expressed his belief in the validity of the Legislature and its laws; and he affirmed, that whoever might be against them, they might rest assured that they had a fast and firm friend in President Pierce. Mr. Calhoun, of Illinois, Surveyor of the two Territories, made an abusive and slanderous speech against the Free State men—declaring that he would not believe them on oath, and that he would rather the Czar of Russia should rule over this country, than see the Free-Soilers in nower.

Lecompte. Yours, truly, Kansas.

TRIAL OF McCREA-REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

Correspondence of the St. Louis Intelligencer. I learn that the case of McCrea, who is being tried at Leavenworth city, before Judge Lecompte, for the murder of Malcom Clark, last spring, progresses but slowly. The court has progressed very slowly. A great deal of difficulty has been experienced in getting jurors. The counsel for the prisoner filed demurrer to the indictment, partly for defects on its face, and partly on account of the manner of forming the Grand Jury. We learn that this demurrer has been overruled by Judge Lecompte. I learn that the case of McCrea, who is bei murrer has been overruled by Judge Lecompte as also a motion to plead in abatement.

The case, we believe, has occupied ten days and no progress in it has yet been made. It was told that an effort would be made to get a barrer of receive age it was apprehended the change of venue, as it was apprehended that the prisoner could not get a fair trial here. Great dissatisfaction is expressed by the Free State men, because several members of the bar, and clerk of the Court, and some of the jury, both grand and petit, are of the "Border Ruffian" class, some of them having been engaged in lynching Phillips last spring. A motion has been made by one of the attorneys to dismiss the clerk and those of the attorneys who had been thus engaged, and affidavits were filed to prove these facts; but the Court has not grant-

d the motion. JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., Nov. 29, 1855. Col. McCarty, of the Missouri House of Rep resentatives, received a despatch this evening which was read before the House. Colonel McCarty says there is no doubt of its genuine ness or correctness. Some regard it as a humbug, to influence the Senatorial election. Jones is sheriff of Douglas county; Lawrence is the county seat :
"Westport, Nov. 27.—Col. McCarty : Go

Shannon has called out the militia against Lawrence. They are now in open rebellion against the laws, and Jones is in danger. We want help. Communicate this to the friends. "A. G. BOONE.

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

The St. Louis papers of the 30th ultimo co tain a despatch from Westpors, Missouri, of the 28th, confirming the intelligence published yesterday, that there has been an open rupture in Kansas between the Pro-Slavery and Anti-

in Kansas between the Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery parties. The despatch was addressed to a member of the Legislature at Jefferson city, and is to the following effect:

"That Governor Shannon, of Kansas, had the night before ordered out the militia against Lawrence, the county seat of Douglas county. There is an open rebellion against the laws, and Jones, the Sheriff of the county, is in danger. The call is for help."

Mr. McCarty, to whom the dispatch was addressed, thought there was no doubt of its genuineness, whilst others believed it was intended to influence the election of a Senator in Mis-

We understand that the President yesterday

we understand that the President yesterday received a telegraphic dispatch from Gov. Shannon, of Kansas, by which it appears that a civil war is really threatened. The Governor requests prompt assistance from the General Government, and, in conformity with this request, the President has ordered the immediate dispatch of troops from the posts nearest the disturbed district, for the purpose of preserving the peace.

National Intelligencer.

send, and, in conformity with this request, the Presidenth and served work at its Section of the purpose of preserving the And the contract of New York, Benness, Benness of Wingle of Tenness, Standard, March 1998 (1994), Willier of March 2019 (1994)

bulk of the fleets in the Black Sea are withdrawing toward Constantinople, and but a few
ships remain in the liman of the Dneiper. The
Emperor Alexander has returned from the
Crimea to St. Petersburgh. Peace rumors are
again very prevalent, and great diplomatic
activity prevails, especially at Vienna, Berlin,
Stockholm, and Brussels. The French Exposition has been officially closed. Medals, including money prizes and stars of the legion of
honor, were distributed with a lavish hand.
We give elsewhere a list of the Canadian
awards, but have not received a list of the suc-

We give elsewhere a list of the Canadian awards, but have not received a list of the successful competitors from the United States.

Latest.—The following is Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's official dispatch:

"Therapea, Nov. 15.—At noon of the 5th, Omer Pasha forded the River Ingour, at the head of 20,000 men, and defeated the Russians, computed at 10,000, including militia, and partly entrended. The enemy lost about 400 in killed and wounded, sixty prisoners, and three guns. The Turkish loss was upward of 300. The British officers did honor to their country."

who proceeds from Fort Lane to join the expedition; and all the disposable troops of the district comprising Fort Vancouver and Fort Dalles, under Major Raines, who has already taken the field.

For operations against the Rogue River and neighboring Indians, there will be concentrated at Fort Lane one company of the fourth infantry, and one company of dragoons, under Captain Smith; and one company of the fourth infantry, commanded by Captain Judah, who is already in the field.

country."
The Liverpool cotton market, which in the beginning of the week was active, had become quiet, and closed at last week's quotations. Breadstuffs had been in fair business, at a further slight improvement. Provisions are slightly improved. The Manchester market had been quieter, and a "strike" of the ope-ratives seems inevitable. The money market had unexpectedly become stringent; the demand for accommodation has increased, and a further advance in the rate of interest is apprehended. Consols closed on Friday dull, at

prehended. Consols closed on Friday dull, at $87\frac{\pi}{8}$ @ 88.

Among the passengers by the Atlantic is Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, who has resided some considerable time past in Russia, and now returns to make arrangements to carry out the contracts he has made with the Russian Government. Col. Shaffner has secured contracts for realizable tolerable such as the contracts. for railronds, telegraphs, and other public works, on the most gigantic scale and on very favor-able terms. In addition to the enterprises above named, the Colonel has become largely above named, the Colonel has become largely interested in property belonging to the Archduchess Marie, sister of the Emperor, and to others of the princes and princesses of the house of Romanoffsky. The aggregate cost of the works undertaken by Col. Shaffner, representing the enormous amount of \$26,000,000, affords a splendid margin for the triumphs of American skill and energy.

GREECE. Considerable remark has been excited by the new United States Minister to Greece paying a formal visit to the Russian Minister, who returned the visit on board an American ship of war. There is a statement in the French papers, that the United States make an offer to pay up the indebtedness of Greece to England and France, in consideration of receiving the Island of Milo for 90 years.

Athens letters of Nov. 9 announce the departure of the American squadron from Constant

The line of telegraph from Sympheropol and Nicolaiëff to St. Petersburgh is now open. The Bourse of Paris has not known whether to interpret the speech of the Emperor in a pacific or a warlike sense. It expresses a desire for peace, without evincing any disposition to take the first step.

Consols closed this afternoon week at 88.

NICARAGUA.

To some, the may appear as if the Republicane had a creat load to carry in clecting Mr.

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Chang, the may appear as if the Republicane had a creat load to carry in clecting Mr.

Chang, the may appear as if the Republicane had a contract the contract of the man and the contra

the use of the expedition.

There will be then concentrated at Fort Dalles, the following force: The company from the Presidio; a company of the fourth infantry from Fort Humboldt; one company of the first dragoons, under command of Major Fitzgerald, who proceeds from Fort Lane to join the expedition; and all the disposable treasure of the discontinuous control of the discontinuous control

the field.

The utmost activity prevails at Benicia, in the embarkation of mules, horses, stores, &c.; and if the steamer were but in readiness, the ex-

the news was only received on Thursday night SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,-The Supreme Court of the United States com-menced its annual term yesterday, all the members of the Court, except the venerable Chief

Justice, being present, viz:

The Hon. John McLean, James M. Wayne,
John Catron, Peter V. Daniel, Samuel Nelson, Robert C. Grier, Benjamin R. Curtis, John A. Campbell, Associate Justices.

Jonah D. Hoover, Esq., Marshal.

William Thomas Carroll, Clerk. Mr. Justice McLean announced to the Bar that the Court would commence the call of the

docket to-morrow, under the 36th rule.

Adjourned until to-morrow, 11 o'clock. MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR ADAMS, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—We find, in the Charleston Mercu-ry of the 28th instant, the message of Governor Adams to the Senate and House of Representatives of South Carolina. It is mainly devoted

atives of South Carolina. It is mainly devoted to the local affairs of the State. Indeed, we have seen in it but one allusion to Federal politics. It is as follows:

"The agitation in relation to Slavery continues to increase, and is rapidly tending to its bloody termination. Measures which it was hoped by some would give quiet to the country and dignity to its deliberations, have served but to redouble the efforts and augment the power of abolition. Civil war is a direful calamity, but its scourges are to be endured in preference to degradation and ruin. The peopreference to degradation and ruin. The peo-ple of South Carolina are alive to the issue, and are mindful of their obligations. They are calm, because they are prepared and self-reli-ant. They have not forgotten their history, and they will not fail to vindicate its teachings. The right 'to provide new guards for their future security' has been sealed by the blood of their ancestors, and it will never be surren-dered. Come what may, 'they will do their duty, and leave the consequences to God.'"

THE TEXAN FRONTIER.—We take the follow-The Texan Frontier.—We take the following from the San Antonio Texan of the 15th:
"Another company of Rangers lately arrived in our city, from the frontier, under command of Capt. William Tobin. This company, and that under Capt. Tobin, are now discharged. They were mustered into service only temporarily, and at present there seems to be no security on our frontier. The plain truth of the matter is this: the execution of our Rangers in Mexico has had the effect of quieting the frontier. Twelve hundred Mexican troops are

Wool, Fleece, fine - - - Iron, Scotch, Pig - - - Lime, Rockland - - -

Republican Association of Washington.

This Association have established their Headquarters in the second story of the new building on D street, between Eighth and

city have published in pamphlet form the speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William H. Seward at Albany and Buffalo, and, in order o give them as general a circulation as possible have determined to send them at the following heap rates:
Speeches at Albany and Buffalo, in one

pamphlet, at \$2 per hundred copies.

Speech at Albany, in the German language

\$2 per hundred copies.

The Association will also direct and mail them singly, free of postage, to such names as may be furnished, at the above rates; or the will send them in packages, at the expense of the person ordering, at the very low price of \$1.25 per hundred copies. Address L. CLEPHANE, Secretary of the

Republican Association, Washington, D. C.

The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations THE OUTRAGES IN KANSAS. POSITION OF THE REPUPLICAN PARTY. SPEECH

HON. CHARLES SUMNER. The Evening of the 2d of November, 1855,

FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON. Just published, in pamphlet form, by the R publican Association of Washington City. Price \$1.25 per hundred copies; or, enveloped franked, and addressed singly or in packages at \$2 per hundred copies. Orders solicited. Address

L. CLEPHANE, Secretary of the Republican Association, Washington, D. C.

MARKETS. BALTIMORE MARKET. Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 4, 1855. Flour, Howard Street - . \$9.25 @ 0.00
Flour, City Mills - . . 9.00 @ 0.00
Rye Flour - . . . 7.12 @ 0.00
Corn Meal - . . . 4.25 @ 4.50 Wheat, white - - - - 2.15 @ 2.18 Wheat, red - - - - 2.08 @ 2.12 Corn, white - - - - - - Corn, yellow - - - - -88 @ Rye, Pennsylvania - - - 1.20 @ 1.24 Rye, Virginia - - - 1.07 @ 1.10 Oats, Maryland and Virginia - 39 @ 42 Oats, Pennsylvania - - - 39 Clover Seed - - - 8.00 Timothy Seed - - - - 3.25 @ 3.37 Hay, Timothy . . . · · · 18 @ Hops - - - - - Potatoes, Mercer - -Bacon, Shoulders - - - - Bacon, Sides - - - - -13 @ 14 @ Bacon, Hams 1210 Pork, Mess - - - Pork, Prime - - -· 20.00 @00.00 18.50 @00.00 Lard, in barrels - - - - 12 (a)
Lard, in kegs - - - - 13‡(a)
Wool, Unwashed - - - 18 (a) 18 (a) 27 (b) 22 (c) 28 (c) 40 (d) 20 30 27 33 48

Wool, Washed - - - · · Wool, Pulled - - - - - Wool, Fleece, common - -

Wool, Fleece, fine - - - - Wool, Choice Merino - - -

NEW YORK MARKET. Carefully prepared to Tuesday, December 4, 1855. Flour, State brands - - - \$9.37 @ 9.50 Flour, State brands, extra - 10.12 @11.50 Flour, Western - 9.62 @ 9.87 Flour, Southern - 9.50 @11.25 Rye Flour - - - - - 6.12 (2) 7.62

 Rye Flour
 6.12 @ 7.62

 Corn Meal
 4.37 @ 4.62

 Wheat, white
 2.20 @ 2.25

 Wheat, red
 2.10 @ 2.16

 Corn, white
 1.02 @ 1.05

 Corn, yellow
 1.02 @ 1.05

 Rye
 1.20 @ 1.23

 Oats
 53 @ 55

 Clover Seed
 11.00 @ 0.00

 Timothy Seed
 4.25 @ 0.00

 Hay
 75 @ 80

 Hops
 10 @ 13

 Bacon, Shoulders
 88@ 9

 Bacon, Hams - · · · · . Pork, Mess - · · · · Pork, Prime . . · · · 11.00 @12.50 Lard, in kegs - - - Butter, Western - - Butter, State - - -

A YOUNG LADY WISHES a situation as Governess, or as Teacher of the Primary Department of an Institution. For its formation, address Miss J. D. L., Baltimore, Md. 405

ANTI-SLAVERY MEN AND WOMEN SHALL we have your hearty co-operation in our effort to place in the hands of every intelligent reader thes two books?

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BY DR. C. G. PARSONS.

It should be borne in mind, that these volumes are not works of fiction, or stories of the imagination, but time records of what these intelligent travellers saw, with their own exas; and we challenge the world to disprove the truth of their averments. Mr. Drew went to Canada, and travelled from town town, from cabin to capin, and took down the statements which fell from the lips of the Refugees; and he has given them, to the world, heartly verbatum, in his soul-stirring volume.

Men and Wamen of America! you may learn much, it you will, from these THIRTY THOUSAND CANADIAN SLAYES. They can take you behind the curtain, and tely you of the practical workings of the slave system—that heautiful, Christian; Democratic institution of America which finds so many applogists and defenders. They can tell you of the sufferings, toils, privations, and pessis, which they endured and suffered, in effecting their escape from the land of bondage; and they will apeak to you of the present prospects and topes, in their undisturbed Canadian homes.

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CIRCULATE THE DOCUMENTS.

CIRCULATE THE DOCUMENTS.

HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD'S SPEECHES.

The Republican Association of Washington city have published in pamphlet form the speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content of the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the principal speeches recently delivered by the Hon. William to content the pri

ident.

P. S. To accommodate those who wish their sons under his immediate care, President Calkins will take a number of students into his own house, and furnish them with board, room, lights, fuel, and tuition, for one hundred and

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On my Bed of a Winter Night,
Longfellow's "Song of Hiawatha,"
It Might Have Been. The Virginia Springs—continued.

Low Life in the Sahara.

Life among the Mormons—concluded. The Loss of the Argo. About Niggers.
A Visit to the Druzes.

The Lost Lamb.
The Green Lakes of Onondaga, (N. Y.) Thackeray, as a Poet. Hesperus,
Living in the Country.
Benito Cereno—concluded. The Coming Session.

Editorial Notes:
1. American Literature and Reprints. 2. European Literature-England, France, Germany. 3. Drama.

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THE SCHOOLFELLOW

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For sale by all Booksellers. 466

"It is decidedly the very best Book of the Kind." THE HUNDRED DIALOGUES. FOR READING, SPEAKING, AND EXHIBITION. IN SCHOOLS, and for general reading; written by a well-known author and teacher of thirty years' experience. No exercise is more beneficial, in giving a natural and cosy style of reading and speaking, than the use of dialogues. This is not a collection of old pieces, but contains more than 100 nete, original dialogues, among which are those that are long, short, humorous, serious, comic, witty, amusking, and instructive—all having a high moral tone. "The serious ones are not heavy, and the comic ones are not coarse."—Christian Register.

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of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Ome

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE. CHAP. XIV.

The Breakfast-A Visit to Professor Ling's. When Mr. Garben arrived, at the time apng-room, where an excellent breakfast was served up. With a light heart he saw that no stranger was expected, and that all promised a speedy settlement of the desired object.

The entire breakfast itself had a business-

like appearance—cold meats, and a kind of previously arranged hasty attendance, as if patch was requisite.

We will dispense with everything else,' said Madame Widen, smiling, "in the hope o having all the better dinner," as she politely pressed her guest to let her help him again; but I could tell you, too, that my husband is no friend to slow measures, when business is in hand. And so I wish to show our valued guest how readily Swedish wives seek to meet their husbands' wishes; and I am sure you will, on that account, excuse a somewhat hurried break

"I find it excellent, I assure you," returned Mr. Garben, and his behaviour showed that he only said what he thought. "But," added he, "as to the kindly characteristics of Swedish wives, I esteem it my duty to assure you, also, that thoroughly as I feel convinced of their amiable qualities, the Danish ladies, in this respect, are no ways behind them; and as I shall soon be a married man myself, I feel all the more bound to defend my assertions."

At this unexpected novelty, the lady let an egg-shell fall upon her new cashmere dress; and her husband said-

"We have the honor to congratulate you; and in the same breath tossed off a bumper o port wine, as if life and death depended upon swallowing it.

Mrs. Widen had sufficiently collected her self to say, in her very sweetest tone-

"Ah, how very agreeable-such an interest ing piece of news. We may venture to hope that we shall have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Garben and his wife at our house on their next

As mamma concluded, Rosa, taking up her glass, with a graceful, pleasing air, said, with an expression of unaffected pleasure, as she slightly bowed—
"Health and happiness to Mr. Garben's bride."

"I thank you, with all my heart," replied the Danish merchant, putting his glass to his lips. "My bride has the happiness of very much resembling Miss Widen; and for that reason I have felt so much at home, and so gratified in being his widen. in being allowed the pleasure of associatin with one so like a very dear friend." "I am very much obliged," said Rosa, with a smile. "I hardly believed Mr. Garben could

"Well, though I am already middle-aged myself, yet I confess that 1 have a great liking for youth, especially in a bride. My Rika is not much more than nineteen years old." "Is everything prepared?" inquired Mr. Widen, impatiently, of his head book-keeper, whose whole energies were engrossed in getting through his breakfast.

"All, patron."
The book-keeper spoke and ate with equal rapidity, for he saw the moment of cessation rapidly approaching. "How soon may we expect the gentlemen back again?" asked Madame Widen, quite un-

"At three o'clock, as usual, my dear," replied her husband, looking at his watch; however, if Mr. Garben finds it quite convenient, it is now time to begin."

The person addressed gave an approving

nod; but at the very moment when Mr. Widen was on the point of getting up, he seemed to reel and tumble. Several violent quiverings, as if produced by sudden and severe inward pain, distorted his features, and he seemed about to fall; his wife screamed out, in a heartrending tone—
"Oh, Widen! my dear, for Heaven's sake,

what is the matter with you?" The whole party now sprang up from the table at once; the two book-keepers ran to support their patron, who was rather dragged to the sofa than able to walk thither. Then he sank down, exhausted, with severe spasms and suppressed cries of agony. Rosa ran for water, his wife brought drops,

and all was noise and confusion. The head book-keeper was sent for the Doctor, and Mr. Garben endeavored to comfort the ladies. But with Mrs. Widen, all attempts at consolation were fruitless; she ran to and fro, wringing her hands in despair, which appeared excess-ively natural and affecting.

Symptoms of violent sickness now showed itself, and Madame Widen became more tran-

all her energy, "come here, and help; where is Larson, and Stinna, and Louise? We must get my poor husband to bed before the Doctor

conveyed to his apartment when he just arrived; for Rosa and Mr. Garben, who stayed outside, for Rosa and Mr. Garben, who stayed outside, heard quite plainly that the threatened symptoms had by no means proved deceptive, there was a terrible clatter of crying and screaming; and as the Merchant now sunk, powerless and faint, back again upon the pillows, his wife sobbed aloud, knelt down by the side of the bed, and softly whispered in his ear—
"My dear Widen, you are so pale, you really frighten me. Look up; I shall die with terror."
However, he did not look up, but remained lying upon the bed, pale and with closed eyes, and another messenger was despatched for the

Doctor.

At length the Doctor arrived, and stood b

the sick man's bed. He declared that Mr. Widen had a violent cold, and had probably eaten something indigestible the previous day; and after prescribing sudorifics and quiet, he pronounced the attack to be of no consequence; that Mr. Widen would, in a few days, be quite wall again if no fever energy Mr. Gorben well again, if no fever ensued. Mr. Garben and Rosa heard every word.

"Thank God!" said the young girl, "the Doctor gives good hope; and if Mr. Garben could only remain until to-morrow, perhaps he might be so far restored as to be able to enter upon the business as a programment of the programment of the section of the programment of

might be so far restored as to be able to enter upon the business so unfortunately postponed."
"I am very sorry that it is impossible for me to remain any longer. Indeed, I must depart this very day; for, as nothing can be done here now, immediate departure will at least have the effect of bringing me back all the sooner; and then, with God's help, I trust to see your father perfectly recovered."

As the invalid was inclined to aleep, the Doctor and Madame Widen now came ont of

"Ah! how very sad, my dear Mr. Garben," sighed Mrs. Widen, shaking her head, with great signs of affliction; "how little do we ble evening, but now it is out of the on. We hope, however, to have the re of seeing Mr. Garben again very

"That was cursed hard to do, but it is done; and now we must think of other matters. It was fortunate that he mentioned his engagement; otherwise, with the hopes we cherished about Rosa, I should have gained nothing beyond fourteen days' grace; now, on the contrary, as all that is at an end, I must follow my first plans—that is all."

The day after, in the evening, Rosa wrappe herself in her cloak, and went to the Professor' house, to execute the commission for Ferdi

The old gentleman, pipe in mouth, was seated in his arm-chair by the fire, and, as he puffed away, an occasional "hem, hem," escaped his

hips.'
Rosa lightly tripped over the carpet to his side, and tapped him upon the shoulder.
"Good evening, dear uncle—how are you to

day?"
"Eh, eh; is it you, dear child?" The Professor turned kindly round. "Have you come once more to look after me? After what has passed, I hardly expected that; but you are a true-hearted girl, and now, as always, heartly

welcome."

"I do not understand you, uncle," said Rosa, in astonishment. "Why should I not come

here?"

"Oh! I only thought that since your father had written me that letter, yesterday morning, which, together with my reply, he probably showed you, you might possibly feel obliged to do the same girls usually do on such occasions." sions."
"Neither regarding his own letter, nor uncle's

either, has he mentioned a single word to me," replied Rosa. "Since yesterday morning, papa has been seriously ill, and I believe that he could not have occupied himself with any other matters than those which were most pressing." "Well, then, sit down, my dear," continued the Professor, "and then you shall read the letter yourself, which your father wrote me yesterday morning. Look, there it is upon the table. I will tell you the rest afterwards."

With no little tremor and anxiety, Rosa took

a match, lighted the wax candle, and, by dim light, read the following lines:

" Highly respected friend and brother: "I have already, for some time, been pur posing to put the friendly inquiry to my good brother, whether it is his intention either to settle a sum of ready money, or to make over, in land, to his nephew, what he will see is absoin land, to his nephew, what he will see is absolutely necessary, if an alliance with my daughter is to take place; for, though I trust to be able to give Rosa a fitting fortune, it will not be sufficient, by a great deal, for them to live upon, as the Captain has far more considerable debts than my good brother is aware of, and which must naturally be paid before thinking of santhing else. It are very far from wishing upon, as the Captain has far more considerable debts than my good brother is aware of, and which must naturally be paid before thinking of anything else. I am very far from wishing you to look upon this as a demand; my good brother will dispose as he thinks right of his own property; only this much I wish to say, that in case you should consider this proposition. that in case you should consider this proposi-tion unreasonable, and do not feel inclined to consent thereto, I shall find myself under the necessity—much as I should have rejoiced to must clearly see, that it would be only a source of misfortune to the young people, allowing them to marry without any settled prospect of an income. I felt more inclined to apply myself directly to you upon this subject, as I have already frequently spoken to Captain Ferdinand about it, and he has probably not given himself the trouble to bring the matter to your attack. It therefore becomes my duty to do so. doubted that my old friend would have with pleasure contributed his share towards setting up the young people. Hoping for an early reply, I have the honor to remain my good roof was open, like a honeycomb; and the

"PETER WIDEN." [Remainder of Chap. xiv next week.] For the National Era

THE HAUNTED HOUSE.

BY MRS. BELL SMITH. O'er all there hung a shadow and a fear;
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said, as plain as whisper in the ear,
The place is haunted!

A shriek that echoed from the joisted roof.

The time was when a ghest story had a sigificance-when men of learning were superstitious, and the great mass shuddered at any mention of the sheeted dead again revisiting their former haunts. But that has past. We are a practical people. "What is the use," says one of Hood's characters, "in a ghost? Suppose he is a ghost, he can't punch you; and what's the benefit of being a ghost, if the ghost cannot pitch in?" I quote from memory, but that is the meaning, and with that meaning the ghost is ignored; and when you bring your spirits from the vasty deep, most people laugh at them, have their doubts, and hesitate not to

show their contempt. In return for such treatment, the ghosts do not "pitch in"-so Hood's excited character was about right. This is eminently a practical age. No one pretends to say that hard skepticism has seized upon humanity. By no manner of means. We yet believe firmly in a spiritual existence, but in a practical manner. We have regulated the manifestations, and brought the subtle, wayward representatives to something like order. We have given them respectable habitations, and taught them to keep regular hours. One need not now seek the graveyard at midnightthe ruined house—the murderer's glen-for

communication with souls of the departed. In any of our cities, you will find advertised a circle of spiritualists, or office of a medium, where, by paying twenty-five or fifty cents, you may be put in communication with any of the departed, from the warlike Julius Cæsar to the martyred Uncle Tom, and examine, to any extent, the willing or unwilling ghost. Be under no apprehension-the effort is certain to be successful.

crowd.

The details of these extraordinary exhibition are too well known to need a repetition here, and, besides, have nothing whatever to do with the true ghost story I sat down to write. Sufthe true ghost story I sat down to write. Sur-fice it to say, that we separated fully convinced of several things. For my part, I believe in ghosts; I believe in the little Foxes; and I be-lieve in all spiritual manifestations. With this confession of a creed, my readers can perceive with what genuine earnestness I proceed to tell them this true story of a ghostly kind.

During the vacation in the summer of found my husband prepared to quit the dusty nusty courts, for the country, just as my phy ician had prescribed daily exercise for me or sician had prescribed daily exercise for me on horseback, as the proper restorative to health. Very well; the country was just the place for such exercise; but a difficulty met us at the outset. The prescription had been followed by the purchase of a beautiful white horse—the most spirited, affectionate creature in the world. To leave Coney behind, cooped up in a dull city stable, while we were enjoying the country air, was not to be thought of. We first proposed having him brought by road, whilst we rattled to our retreat on the rail. But a happy ttled to our retreat on the rail. But a happy hought struck me. Why not go ourselves o norseback? The proposition was at once accepted, and in a few days, equipped in accordance with comfort, and some little of the picance with comfort, and some little of the pic-turesque, we were gallantly pacing along the highways and by-ways, in a manner that would have made glad the heart of James. He would have begun immediately a three volume novel, with "Two equestrians might have been seen."

And we were seen; for, riding into a little village that had been heated into silent sleepiness, we suddenly came, as we turned into the yard of a hotel, upon Charles A——, Esq., who rubbed his eyes, and looked as much astonished as Don Quixote had stalked in upon his vision.

I wish I had the space to follow the windings
that pleasant way, which led from the hot, dusty city, to our country home. How we kept by the banks of the fair Miami, and saw it, now sleeping lake-wise, with a solitary crane stalk-ing like a shadow above its glassy surface, or brawling along shallows, or roaring over mill-dams; while all the while old trees leaned over, as if to see themselves reflected in the waves below: or how we found wayside inns toned down by leaves, where fresh milk, cool from the spring, with the whitest of bread, were given us for food; while downy beds, where the whisper-

ing foliage brushed against the window, or pat-tering rain was heard upon the roof, received us for the night. But space and time will not admit of such digressions, for this chapter is levoted to a veritable ghost story, and as such must be written.

We had left the unshaded town of Lebanon

have entered into a nearer connection with you—to break off the engagement between the Captain and my daughter; for my good brother must clearly see, that it would be only a source in sight; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a mischt; and this old house gave out such a misch gave a misch g

sen the trouble to ship the market by the description. It therefore becomes my duty to do so; and I must also add, that the betrothal would never have been made public, or, rather, would never have taken place at all, had I for an instant land, is sufficient of itself to attract attention. It therefore becomes my duty to do so; and our speculations terminated by a sponding of the half-topened door, he turned deadly pale—almost fell—and then made a move as if to shut out a sight that seemed so appalling. However, he noisily beneath our feet. The door opened to D.'s efforts, creaking on its hinges, and scraping the floor. The interior startled us yet more. The room we entered was furnishedthe rough cane chairs stood about the floor, as if pushed out of place but a few moments pre-vious, yet covered with mould and cobwebs. The corner cupboard, with one door fallen, dis-The corner cupboard, with one door falles, displayed its usual contents of cups, plates, and saucers, while in the opposite corner the old-fashioned clock stared in silence at us, its hand pointing mutely to the hour of one. In various places on the floor, damp stains showed where the rains of summer and the snows of winter had dripped through the broken ceiling; while as we gazed with mute wonder in the dim light, (for upon the broken windows the sun-

cracked shutters were closed,) winds, with damp, musty odors, wandered about us. We ascended the stairs-rough originally. We ascended the stairs—rough originally, they seemed now to remonstrate at further use, as we mounted. The first room to our right startled us exceedingly. It seemed to have been built in imitation of a ship's cabin—the ceiling being low, heavily timbered, and sloping; while the light came in at three narrow windows, pierging a wall, which leaned out. windows, piercing a wall, which leaned out-wardly, like the stern of a bark. To aid the delusion, a hammock was swung from the rafters, while a sea-chest occupied one corner. An old table, with two chairs, ended our inventory of the furniture of this singular apartment. D. lifted the lid of the chest, and from the inthat greeted us. From this chest I took an old worn volume of manuscript, written in a hard, angular hand. The other rooms, though not so strangely constructed, were in keeping with this, exhibiting the same evidences of sudden desertion and subsequent decay.

"Some great evil," I exclaimed, "has fallen on this house. Perhaps the scene of a fearful murder."

"More likely," answered D., "a fell disease, which has frightened the living from the

lace, made me glad once more to find our-elves on the sunny pike. Riding over the selves on the sunny pike. Riding over the next hill, we came, unexpectedly, upon a little habitation, giving undoubted evidences of a live occupation. Chickens cackled busily about the door, a dog barked as we approached, while an old horse in the adjoining pasture lifted his sober head, and, approaching the fence, eyed us with curiosity. D. proposed inquiring here for a solution of the mystery we had just left. It was about our luncheon time, and, asking for milk and bread for ourselves, and corn for our horses, we entered the cabin. An old woman received us kindly; and whilst we were discussing the humble but excellent fate, gave

When order was restored, the lady apologized to the company for the interruption, and explained, by assuring us that she felt something press her toe, which she thought was the Devil. But our interview was at an end, for the spirits declined having anything more to do with the

culiarity. Every evening, after an early sup-per, he would retire; and it made no difference how laborions had been the day, this promenade would commence; and Alice, in the room lately the scene of this dreadful mystery. The nade would commence; and Alice, in the room lately the scene of this dreadful mystery. The night did not come to them, as it had to others, soft and quietly. A storm was gathering at the southwest, so that, long before sunset, it was occupant apparently retired to his ham-

t is not strange she listened to the first offer proposing a change. This came from a young armer, son of a widow, who had bestowed nore than ordinary care in the education of her only child. He was handsome, sensitive, and sprightly, had been the companion of Alice at school, her attendant to church; and t last their intimacy came to a declaration of love, to which Alice responded, and the matter was referred to her father. He listened in asnishment to the proposition, and indignantly refused. However, on seeing the daughter's ears, he took the affair under consideration and ended by giving a reluctant consent. The consent was accompanied by the strange condi tion, that the young people should not live in the same house with himself; and so he built for them the little cottage in which we heard this strange recital. The house was finished and furnished, and the wedding took place. Few were present; and, after the ceremony, Alice and her husband left for their humble ome, and the old man was left alone.

Affairs continued for some time as before

nothing occurring to break the uniformity of oung Yardly's mother, until the occurrence o an event which not only changed the current, but broke up the life so long and strangely pur-sued. Yardly took the place of a laborer upon the farm, and worked with his father, precisely as the domestic had done before he became part of the family. Some months after the wedding, as the young man was returning, one from his daily toil, he encounter upon the turnpike a tall, slender man, some fifty years of age, bearing a knapsack upon his shoulders, who asked him if one calling him of Thomas Earle lived in that neighborhood He was answered in the affirmative, and, on ex ressing a desire to see Captain Earle, Yardly arned to accompany him. Together they as ended the hill, entered the porch, and knock ed at the door. It was opened by Earle him self, for the domestic, as usual, had left th house. His son was about saying where he had encountered this stranger who had express-ed a wish to see him, when Captain Earle's eyes fell upon the traveller. The sun had set, but daylight still held its own, so that the stranger stood full revealed before the man he sought.

sight that seemed so appalling. However, he recovered himself, and, harshly sending Yardly away, motioned the stranger to enter.

The young man left, wondering at what he known to himself, said nothing of the matter to his wife. The next morning, Captain Earle ap-peared with the stranger, and, about ten o'clock they separated—Captain Earle sending his took the stage, and was never heard of again. But the interview had its result. During that day, the old man was dispirited and absent. The habitually stern lineaments of his face had changed to almost a vacant and painful ex-pression of grief and uncertainty. The day wore on, and, in the evening, the son and wore on, and, in the evening, the son and father separated as usual. That night, a feeling of some impending evil fell upon the household of the young husband, but no other token was given of its approach. The bright sun went down, bathed in glory—the stars gathered in their glad array; and sleep came at last,

ed in their glad array; and sleep came at last, to seal up the senses, and shut out the unsubstantial phantoms of fear.

The next morning, Thomas Earle was found dead. The death had not been peaceful, for the clinched hands yet grasped the torn side of the rude hammock, the eyes were staring, the nouth open-indeed, every feature indicating a scene of horror.

They closed the eyes, and folded the hand

over the heart, now at last stilled in death, and the once troubled form was borne away to After the burial, the young people thought it best to remove from their little cabin to the homestead. This was done, and the first evening they proposed inhabiting the house came upon them. The gloom was gathering about the habitation, and Alice, in the arms of her husband, wept bitterly, for she loved her father, when, as the servant was about striking a light, all three started in intense terror. They heard the measured tread of the now buried man, pacing, as was his wont in life, the room above. Tramp, tramp, tramp, they heard distinctly the wooden leg as it struck upon the floor. The girl fled, shricking—Alice fainted, and when she

returned to her consciousness, they were in the road where her husband had carried her, not

even he daring to remain.

The son and daughter would have concealed this fearful event, tending, as it did, to east suspicion on the family; but, from the lips of the domestic, it spread over the neighborhood. Dudomestic, it spread over the neighborhood. During the day, crowds, actuated by curiosity, visited the house, and before night many stout men, and several religious ones, a preacher among the rest, proposed passing the night in the Haunted House. Young Yardly accepted their services, and at sunset a goodly crowd were collected in the late Captain's residence. It was determined that no light should be placed in the room, that everything might remain as when formally occupied by its strange inhabitant. This, however, was reluctantly consented to by a portion of the company. The and a whost continued was a complete benoise—she effort is certain to be successful. I shall not forget soon my first experiment in the process entirely safe.

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I shall not forget soon my first experiment in the state of the

ful. A silent, sombre man, with ways so peculiar in themselves that they excited continual comment among his goesipping neighbors, saving his little girl, he lived quite alone. The female domestic left the house every evening at sunset, for such was her engagement, while the field laborers had the crops on share, and seldom entered the old man's dwelling. Alice he sent to school, and regularly to church; but never himself left the farm—confining his observations, when business or chance brought him in contact with a neighbor, to the few words necessary, and no more. So cold, gloomy, and repulsive a character, could not escape criticism; and, not only was he severely commented upon, but various insinuations were whispered about, purporting to account for his extraordinary conduct.

Times prospered with Thomas Earle, and little Alice, wandering about the gloomy house, like a stray sunbeam, grew, from slender girl-hood into a beautiful woman. This fact made no change in their mode of life. Of it, indeed, Captain Earle did not seemed to be absorbed in the affairs of his farm; and, when not so "agged, would withdraw to his singularly constructed room, and pore for hours over a book, the nature of which none knew, as he carefully kept it under lock—or he would walk to and for for hours within the limits of his little apartment. This last was a market peculiarly. Every evening, after an early supper, he would retire; and it made no difference of the medium of the house and the hour indicated, when the roughlet, he have a contained by Protestant princes, and see ourselves surrounded by Protestant by indicating the through the man and the hour indicated, when the roughlet he had to the house and the hour indicated, when the roughlet have been selected, with sunken piercing eyes, allow the exist of the captage of the underly and the proposed they should repair to the heads of the legislation of the captage of the underly and the proposed they should repair to the heads of the legislation of the late of the captage of the

is upon every hill-top and in every valley, indi-cating that the Catholic religion is universal, is continual contradiction.

The special object of our trip was to ascend night in the room they occupied. They waited more than an hour, in the dead silence which

the Saguenay; and though we had seen the "Seven Mile Mirror," in which its glories are reflected, and revelled in many a description, we were not at all prepared for the realities sometimes precedes a tempest, when almost at the exact moment the dreaded noise began. which rose up before us as we glided over its dark waters. Where we leave the St. Law-rence, it is nearly thirty miles broad, and the As it did, the first heavy breathings of the storm, the first huge drops of rain, struck upon the house. As the walk went on, the storm grew loud; and, in the vivid flashes of lightning, the terrified Alice clinging to her husband, the frightened clergyman, with his hands clasped in prayer, saw the mesmeriser standing erect, his arms stretched towards the door, and an an arms stretched towards the door, and an arms are considered towards the door, and an arms arms the first huge drops of the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they arm of the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the storm of the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George, but increased in grandeur as we proceeded, till they are the shores of Lake George and t expression almost ferocious on his pallid face. miles, there is not a rod of interval, but moun And they heard the door open and shut again; in a momentary pause of the tempest, they heard his step upon the stair, slowly descendtains of every form and size, bold and bleak rising directly from the water's edge, obliging you to look straight up, from fifteen hundred ing.
The storm grew loud again—grew loud in a to ten thousand feet! Where the wind sweeps across the bluffs

strange, fearful manner. It was not the ordinary blasts of wind, and dashes of rain upon grand and waving forest trees, are naked stubbs the house and trees; but the wind was shrill, and fairly whistled as it flew; while a sound, as upon a rock, or in a wild ravine, is seen a fish of creaking cordage and straining timbers, was almost drowned at times by sudden, heavy men; but all else is solemn, grand, and still. roars, as of mountain waves breaking on a vessel's bows. All this the listeners heard, or imagined they heard, while that step slowly de- no line has fathomed it; and the cold is so in tense, that furs and all the woollens of January are but slight protection against the piercing blasts. Trout are said to be abundant in the As the steamer upon which we are is only a pleasure boat, we move slowly along, pausing at every spot of interest, where a silvery stream threads its noiseless way through the fringes of At this question, so boldly put, the storm seemed to burst in all its fury upon the devoted house. The doors flew open—the window panes rattled in pieces to the ground, or were panes rattled in pieces to the ground, or were to mingle its bright waters with the dark waves

scended the stairs. On it came—the door open-ed—the ghostly visiter approached; when, sud-

"In the name of all things sacred, tell to m

At this question, so boldly put, the storm

and despair no words may express. The cler-

view, has never been revealed. The next day, Yardly and his fair wife left the country, with-

removed to an asylum, where he now is, some-

himself St. Paul, and preserves a dignified

As we rode away, I expressed my firm con-

able opinion, the treasure is already

in the shape of this beautiful farm, and the

I know better than this, for I have it all writ-

ten down in the book I carried away, and will

publish it sometime, for the sake of confound-

For the National Era.

REMINISCENCES OF SUMMER TRAVEL.

THE ST. LAWRENCE AND THE SAGUENAY.

We had been all night up the tempestuous

St. Lawrence, when clear and bright the morn-

ing dawned, and found us sheltered beneath the

gray walls of Quebec-the fortress-crowned and

tures of it taken from as many points, it was just

our thoughts, and far more grand and imposing

To visit Montreal and Quebec, and go from

manners and customs of the people, are as

than we had ever imagined.

BY MINNIE MYRTLE.

could be found hidden treasures.

squatters upon it are decidedly keeping alive this Ghost Story."

carried singing upon the wind; and, in the to mingle its bright waters with the dark waves midst, a shriek, a wail, feeble, yet piercing, was heard, carrying in its tone a sense of horror We moor in Ha-ha Bay, which is the Indian for Laughing Waters: and here, upon the more gyman could bear no more—covering his ears, he fled through the open door, away, along the road, to the first human habitation.

What was made known in that fearful inter—waving in rich luxuriance. Again, with a church, a school-house, and a saw-mill—with its sound of busy life. Here, too, are harvests waving in rich luxuriance. Again, with a French courier, a Canada pony, and the light calash, we drive through the principal street cross the crystal brook upon its pebbly bed out saying for where, nor have they ever been heard from. The mesmeriser was found wan-dering about the fields, insane. The exposure while on the bank the kine are grazing, and merry maidens are bleaching, and stop at a little and excitement were too much for a heated brain, already somewhat unhinged. He was repository of "tobacco, sugar, tea, and rum," which professes to supply the wants of the vil lagers in this northern clime. There does not seem to us to be a supply for a single family; times raving about pirates, hidden treasures, domestic manufacture to treasure for a souveviction that this Earle was a great pirate re-tired from business, and that in his orchard

On our return, we are fog-bound for many hours in Lance l'Eau Bay, near the mouth of the river, where we see the little church first built in Canada, in 1608, the same year in which Quebec was founded, and on the St. Lawrence encounter a fearful storm; but at length, as I said, found ourselves safely moored in the ha bor of Quebec.

THE SOUND DUES .- The Journal of Commerce on this subject furnishes an explanation of what Denmark means by the capitalization of what Denmark means by the capitalization of the Sound dues. It appears that the annual average receipts of Sound dues on merchandise (exclusive of legitimate taxes) amount to 2,103,500 rix dollars, which, capitalized at five per cent., or twenty years' purchase, would produce 42,070,000 rix dollars, or a little less than \$30,000,000 United States currency. Of this gray wans of Quebec—the fortress-crowned and gate-bound city of the North. And though we cent., or \$8,700,000; Great Britain the same had read a hundred descriptions, and seen picamount; Prussia twelve per cent., or \$3,600,000; France three per cent., or \$900,000; Norway as new as if it had now for the first time entered one per cent., or \$300,000; Hamburg and our thoughts and far more grand and imposing Bremen about \$250,000; the United States about \$250,000, &c. The amount which would have to be paid by the United States is very village to village among Canadian peasantry, is
next to a trip to Europe. The scenery, the forth be permitted to pass into the Baltic free from toll; but the Court of Copenhagen replied widely different from anything we see "over the border" among Americans, as if the wide "such an arrangement could not be carried to the effect stated in the present circular, that ocean, instead of an imaginary line, divided us.

We had been down the St. Lawrence three hun-We had been down the St. Lawrence three hundred miles beyond Quebec, and up the river and the other Powers, with regard to the Sound

A WOMAN SWIMMING THE MISSISSIPPI.—
Lloyd's forthcoming Steamboat Directory gives a trilling instance of the necessity for women knowing how to swim. When the ill-fated Ben Sherrod was in flames on the Mississippi river, and the lady passengers who had thrown themselves into the water were drowning around the boat, the wife of Captain Castleman jumped into the river, with her infant in her arms, and swam ashore, a distance of half a mile, being the only woman saved out of sixteen. She had learned to swim when a girl.

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Benron, Washington, D. C.

Hudson, Wis., May 21, 1855.

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THE VALUE OF POLITENESS,—Mr. Butler, of Providence, Rhode Island, a millionaire, who is the continuous village all along the shore. It seems to us a cold and sterile region, but the land must be very productive to support a on intended must be very productive to support as a many, though simple indeed must be the tastes of a people who live almost entirely upon what the soil furnishes.

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Blushing de barrassment, "Then you matter, child piercing glan ooked into th "Not a wo Rosa assured

before last, pa promise. How he intended to he said not a "That may child, what we ject? Now, "May I ve Rosa, in a vo back his gray "Surely, my as if you were stead of a poor "Well, then she. "My fee were not quite

with many ot

struggle; but

was free, for, d

been engaged,

not be happy, it was not love "Hum," said you now be ca it was love, the yes, when you have said no? Rosa blushe her namesakes "Dear unch entreated; "a "By no mea betrothal and play. Why di when, according your heart was "Dear, good not love Ferdi loved me; and prospective hat too, in which I felt sensible th

assured through had my heart a

my kindest un these duties, if and steadfast pr

"That is all fessor, "but it child, that thus,

thought of givin

heart; sooner of human feelings heart; and how not then have be come without th tion. He turne ith streaming naturedly, "ther it, in me you po wished, my gir worthy of you, a so rejoiced to ca ing, and two big

ciently to resume

father?" asked ness to her voice "Well, child, and decided sty oughts, and the ed, that it would they taken the tre ty of this before however, that my different, had I could never be my wish, from come to a marria your father has re ment may be loo solved. As soon I shall make him as well as my ow to render the diss to render the diss is to give back th "Yes; and as I Cannot believe much," said Rosa iety enough witho "Oh, that will Professor, who was ture of Ferdidand is the least next.

is the least part of "No, my kinde least, but, on the che has had yet, a vigorous and pow repentance, and What the very everything else h
Speak fearlessly,"
as he noticed tha
at least had the go
mediatress his cau
"God grant the
ancie," Rosa comm
alous voice, "and
ain for Ferdinand